

Haile Selassie's Students: The Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution, 1952-1974

Randi Ronning Balsvik



Addis Ababa University Press

**African Studies Center, Michigan State University
in cooperation with the Norwegian Council of
Science and the Humanities**

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**To those who are the object of this study –
the living and the dead**

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Abbreviations

In the text and the notes, which appear at the end of each chapter, the following abbreviations are often used

AA	Addis Ababa
AP	<i>Acme Perspective</i> , published by the students of the College of Engineering*
AZ	<i>Addis Zemen</i> , daily newspaper in Amharic
B-B	<i>Bust-Body</i> , published by the students of the College of Business Administration
BO	<i>Business Outlook</i> , published by the Business Students' Association
B & S	<i>The Balance and the Sword</i> , published by the Law Union Student' Association
CBA	College of Business Administration
CBAU	College of Business Administration Union
CBTSM	<i>College of Building Technology Students Magazine</i>
CO	<i>Campus Observer</i> , published by the students of the College of Agriculture
EFS	Education Faculty Sample conducted by the author
EH	<i>Ethiopian Herald</i> , daily newspaper in English
ESLC	Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate
E \$	The official exchange rate during the period was approximately US \$1= E 32.50
HSIU	Haile Selassie I University
IEG	Imperial Ethiopian Government

* For further information about student periodicals, consult the Bibliography.

JPSA	<i>Journal of the Political Science Association</i>
ME	Ministry of Education
MCSU	Main Campus Student Union
N & V	<i>News and Views</i> , published by the students of the UCAA, later by the MCSU
NUES	National Union of Ethiopian Students
NUEUS	National Union of Ethiopian University Students
REA	<i>Recent Events & Activities</i> , published by the HSIU
RCS	Registration Card Sample of dead files in the Registrar's Office, UCAA and HSIU
SAC	HSIU Faculty Council's committee on student affairs
UCAA	University College of Addis Ababa
UCAA NL	<i>UCAA Newsletter</i> , published by the students of the UCAA
UCU	University College Union
UR	<i>University Reporter</i>
USUAA	Union of the University Students in Addis Ababa

The method employed for footnoting is as follows.

- (1) For books and Ph.D. theses: Schwab 1972 19; in the Bibliography please find Schwab, P., *Decision-Making in Ethiopia. A Study of the Political Process* London 1972.
- (2) For articles, seminar papers, B.A. theses, and so forth, the author, title and year are cited. Further publishing details are to be found in the Bibliography

LC	List of Conversations. This refer to my interview material. Citations give the interview and its date.
DIARY	With the date added, this refer to my personal observations and notes.

Regarding the difficult question of spelling Ethiopian names in the Latin alphabet, no attempt has been made to adhere to any particular system of transliteration.* This work will frequently reflect the inconsistencies which existed in practice. For example, the emperor's name was often spelled Haile Selassie,** yet the name of the national university was Haile Selassie I University.

* One system was devised by Stephen Wright, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 2, no. 1. On the difficulties of transcribing see Ullendorff 1965 viii, and Petham 1969 xviii.

** See, for example, *Selected Speeches of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I*. Addis Ababa 1967.



Map of Ethiopia at the time of the first publication of this book

Preface

University students have played a conspicuous part in several nationalist movements in Africa.¹ The educated few of the former colonial territories initiated and led the movements toward independence.² In Ethiopia, which escaped the colonial experience except for five years of Italian rule, students had to come to terms with a highly autocratic indigenous regime.³ This book covers the period from December 1950, when the first postsecondary educational institution, the University College of Addis Ababa, was opened, until the end of 1973, a few months before the intervention of the armed forces in Ethiopian politics.⁴ Before 1974 Ethiopian university and secondary school students emerged as the most outspoken and visibly the only consolidated opposition group to Haile Selassie's government. Their role resembles that played by students in Imperial Russia and in China around the turn of this century.⁵ In few, if any, African countries in about 1970 did a student movement play such a prominent part as in Ethiopia.⁶ The absence of political parties, strong organizations, and an indigenous class of traders and entrepreneurs gave the rapidly expanding numbers of university and secondary school students a crucial position because they constituted a disproportionately large section of what could be called the bearers of public opinion. They prepared the ground for the spontaneous and leaderless popular movement which emerged in February 1974 in connection with the world oil crisis. They became, together with the teachers and former students who had their ideological roots in the student movement, a critical factor in the overthrow of the Haile Selassie regime. Their agitation and guidance provided ideological direction to the military government, the *Dergue*.

This work studies the development of the social and political consciousness of Ethiopian university students. By *social consciousness* is meant the ability

to perceive poverty and injustice in one's environment. It implies, in the Ethiopian context, rejection of the fatalistic attitude that men's living conditions are determined by powers beyond human control. It involves consciousness of human dignity irrespective of social status and a desire and attempt to change existing conditions deemed unacceptable. Political consciousness includes the knowledge of how people are governed in a given polity. It means a realization of who governs for whose benefit and of the source of legitimacy of power. It reconciles a perception that pressure can be put on a government from below to institute desired change. In the Ethiopian context it implies a rejection of the monarch's divine right to rule.

As indicators of social and political consciousness, I have used student attitudes and actions concerning freedom of speech and of the press, their attempts to achieve unionism and solidarity, and their efforts to reach the Ethiopian population at large. How did the ideas of unionism and freedom of speech, press, and assembly develop and fare within the university walls, when outside there were no legal channels for the expression of political opinions and opposition? This study will document that all was fairly calm as long as student activities were confined to the campuses, but that increasingly confrontations occurred during the 1960s as the students attempted to extend their political activism to the people. This work seeks to identify the causes, aims, and strategies of the Ethiopia's student movement as well as government and university responses to the challenge. The aim is not to search for broad generalizations or a theory of student unrest.

The research was conducted during 1970-1973 around the two main university locations in Addis Ababa, the Sidist Kilo and Arsi Kilo campuses, which are approximately 1.5 kilometers apart. The University College of Addis Ababa, which was incorporated with all the other colleges into Haile Selassie I University in December 1960, was in this area, as were the faculties of Arts, Science, Engineering, Education, Law, Social Work, Medicine, Theology, Business, and Public Administration. These accounted for approximately 80 percent of the university's students. The Building College was situated in another area of town. The Agricultural College, founded in 1954, was at Adikeya, and the Public Health College, founded the same year, was at Gondar, 500 kilometers and 700 kilometers, respectively, from the capital.

Only to a limited extent does this research take into account the substantial number of Ethiopians studying abroad. They were organized into the Ethiopian Students' Association in North America, ESANA, and the Ethiopian Students' Union in Europe, ESUNA. ESANA's publication during the period of study was *Challenge*, printed in English. In Europe two journals in Amharic were published, *Tareq* (Get Ready) and *Flytachan* (Our Struggle). Aircraft pilots and private individuals brought these to Ethiopia, where they circulated among the student body and graduates. The publications were solely con-

cared with conditions and developments in Ethiopia and from the mid-1960s they were characterized by leftist, ideological radicalism. Student abroad, however, never seemed to direct activities at home although student actions in Ethiopia were publicly supported overseas. There was a definite change in the political views of the returning graduates of the late 1960s owing to ideological developments in the Ethiopian student movement abroad.⁶

In this study conventional history methods have been used. The Ethiopian government did not allow its strictly controlled press to reflect the day-to-day history of its people. No articles or comments written by or about students were published in the newspapers at times when Adis Ababa was seething with rumors about them. Furthermore, little research on the students has been done because of these limitations together with the fact that the sources to which I refer are not easily accessible even in Ethiopia, a detailed descriptive analysis seems the most appropriate.

The following sources have been used: student publications,⁷ student poetry and clandestine pamphlets; documents related to the university's student affairs committee notices and memos from the NSU⁸ administration, government-controlled newspapers, and to a lesser extent student B.A. theses and smaller studies by university teachers monographed within the university. Their value is very limited when it comes to reconstructing historical events and probing into how and why. The newspapers and the government communications issued through them were not at all concerned with giving truthful information to the public. Material unflattering to the regime had to be kept out of the papers or slanted to the government's advantage. This is not to say that newspapers did not transmit news, but they did so intermittently and haphazardly. The student publications were not much different. Their aim, especially toward the end of the 1960s, was almost solely to be a medium for opposition to the regime. In order to keep the government in the dark, events and developments within the student populations were in no way systematically recorded. That is why it is so difficult, on the basis of written sources, to establish the contribution of, for example, the Ethiopian University Service to the radicalization of the high school students.

Under the university's protection, students had the privilege of forming unions, arranging discussions, and having a press, in theory without interference from the government. On the whole, university students enjoyed freedom of expression to an extent unheard of in the larger Ethiopian society. Yet, as will be shown in this work, student activities were restricted and censored within the university, and their unions and publications were banned time and again. Broadly speaking, controversial views were not recorded until they reached such a stage of strength and determination that censorship was defied. As to the representativeness of student publications, pamphlets, and poetry, it is assumed that they at least reflected the views of the active few.

Final Preface

The general situation under which the study was conducted presented limitations to the research, mainly because of the choice of topic. It could hardly have been more unpopular with the government. To conduct research in Ethiopia one had to apply to a committee at HSU for approval of the project. The application had to be forwarded through the director of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES). Without approval a foreign researcher could not obtain a visa, or, if a resident, the introductory letters without which few people would be likely to provide any information. Twice during my three-year stay in Ethiopia, in October 1970 and January 1973, I formally sought research clearance, but the director of the IES advised me on both occasions not to try, since he believed I would be turned down. An official refusal would have prevented me from doing any kind of research whatsoever on the university premises. As it was, I had use of the IES library and could at least do what was possible within the existing limitations.

I chose to pursue the topic, hoping that changes might occur in the political situation which would give me access to the material I needed. It was there on the premises of the Sidist Kilo campus in Addis Ababa, where the offices of central administration, the Registrar, and the Dean of Students are located. Unfortunately, nothing of this sort happened. On the contrary, the relationship between the students and the government and university administration seemed to go in one direction only - from bad to worse. Consequently, documentary material which was right on the spot, including some of the collections of the IES library, has only been used to the extent I was able to assemble it privately. A complete file of correspondence between the Dean of Students and the student representatives would have added greater authority to this study. The same is true of central administration files containing presidential memoranda and minutes of meetings of the board of governors, the faculty council, and various ad hoc committees. Even so, this material probably would not have changed the results of the research, based on primary sources which I obtained from private individuals, present and former students, university teachers, and the IES library.

Another limitation of the research is that statistics is a new and undeveloped field in Ethiopia,¹⁰ as in most underdeveloped countries. In the early 1970s a census had not been undertaken, and thus there is much guesswork involved in many of the figures presented here. Little sociological research on students had been done within the university, most probably because sociology could not be taken as a major subject for the B.A. degree. The general atmosphere of suspicion also prevented such studies. On three different occasions I prepared questionnaires, but for various reasons beyond my control they could not be administered to groups of students.

The dearth of statistical and documentary material, press censorship and suppression of student writings, and the contemporary nature of the study led

to extensive use of personal observations and interviews as source material. For three years I worked daily in the IHS library on the largest campus of the university. The work owes much to the insights gained from numerous informal conversations with students and faculty. Numerous and more extensive interviews were conducted with former and then current students and staff. I tried to reach those in the forefront of student activities from time to time. Some of them now hold influential positions in Ethiopia but most, especially those from the mid-1960s, are studying abroad or have left the country as political refugees. In addition to them, however, I definitely felt it was equally important to interview the "average" student.

These interviews were informal. No tape recorder was used and no strictly prepared question format. The intent was to let people talk freely of matters they felt to be important within the frame of a guiding question. Notes were taken during the interviews, however, and the reconstructed conversations were recorded almost immediately after they had taken place. Sometimes two or three persons were interviewed at the same time, a method I found very useful as the students would try to be more accurate and tended to correct one another.

The information I gained from interviewing could to some extent be characterized as what was common knowledge at the time. Since the same material could have been obtained from any "average" student, to name informants would be irrelevant. Sometimes I did not ask for names because anonymity was felt to be vital for security reasons. Cooperation was mostly offered with the understanding that names would not be used hence interviews are referred to as LC (List of Conversation) number X. My work could be considered a chronicle of a "faceless" movement whose leaders are not readily seen. I refrained from systematic collection of data about named persons since, after all, their activities were considered illegal. I also felt that the lack of free access to information made it difficult to do justice to the personalities involved.

I never assembled material at my desk in the library or at home. It must remain an open question whether this precaution was necessary, but I was constantly reminded by others to be careful so that my work would not be impeded and my papers confiscated. All documents I received were given on the understanding that they had to be dealt with quickly and then returned. Only to a very limited extent could I make photocopies. Most had to be dealt with immediately, not to be removed from the owner for any length of time. This led to extensive hand copying, often almost indiscriminately, as I could not expect to see the material again and did not always know what would be needed at the time of writing.

Obtaining relevant books was often a frustrating experience. In the university library catalogued books within my field of interest were hardly ever to be found on the shelves. Far too many were "missing" or "lost." Books on modern

political thinking, insofar as they were represented, were not loaned out. Because of government censorship and the poverty of students, there was no university bookshop in Ethiopia. Ordering books from abroad could mean a total loss, since the post office had to refer all books to the Ministry of Information's censorship department. Most of the relevant studies on modern Ethiopia were proscribed and would be confiscated or returned to their place of origin. The same was true of books having a tinge with political connotations. I ordered S. M. Lipset's *Student Politics*. Upon receipt the package was opened, and the man behind the counter in the Addis Ababa post office immediately told me the book would never be accepted into the country. Even if Ethiopian affairs were not dealt with at all, the very words *student* and *politics* were abhorred in the censorship department. The book was confiscated and only returned to me after the intervention of the Norwegian consul in Ethiopia. Returning from a vacation in Norway in 1972, several kilos of my books and journals were confiscated at the airport. Cumbersome negotiations followed, almost everything had to be returned to Norway, and I was advised never to bring in such harmful books. The censors could not imagine that I intended to keep the literature for my own reading. They suspected the collection was meant for distribution, and their job was to protect Ethiopian youth from reading seditious literature. The question of my research did not come up on this occasion, and my role as wife and mother saved me from being taken too seriously.

Notes

1. Francis X. Sutton, "Education and the Making of Modern Nations," in *Columbia* 1965:49, and Ali Mazrui, "What Is an Intellectual?" 1969:12.
2. Lipset 1967:6.
3. No attempt will be made to give a general introduction to Ethiopian affairs. My knowledge and understanding of this fascinating country have been aided by a number of books, much more so than the footnotes will indicate, for example, Perham 1948 and 1969, Chapman 1969, Levine 1965, Tedros Tewari 1971, Parkhurst 1968, Ullendorff 1965, Greenfield 1963 and 1969, Hobs 1970. Extensive bibliographies are included in these works.
4. Source material is very scarce for the early 1950s.
5. Lipset 1967:10-12, 40-41, and Peres 1961:45-63,81.
6. This impression on my part stems from a variety of sources: my visit to the universities of Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in October 1972 (Diary October 1972), an editorial in *Majlis* August 1971 dedicated to students in Ethiopia (appendix, "Students and Politics in Uganda" 1977); Hama and others, "The Active Minority," in *Hama* 1975:71-107; Salih 1973; Woods 1979; and oral information about CIA assessments (LC 69, 21.1.1973).
7. Legesse 1973:4, Merkato and Negash Ayele 1978:53-54, 82-84, 90, 97, 128, 178 and Rashed Reunning Balwirk, "Ethiopia-Kva ver?" 1974. Among the leading members of the Dergue in 1974-1975 were several officers who had studied at the university (Merkato and Negash Ayele 1978:111).

1. LC 89.21.2 1973.
2. This work will document that I disagree with Marina Ottaway's view that *Hewa and Minet* "provided little more than campus gossip" and that the student movement "never managed to spread beyond the boundaries of the University." See M. Ottaway, "Social Classes and Corporate Interests in the Ethiopian Revolution," 1976, 475, 476.
3. Prussewang 1973:24; and Thube 1976: 18-19.

Part I

Environment

1:1 Main Characteristics of Ethiopian Education

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the development of education in Ethiopia and outline the main problems facing the educational system. As the object of this work is to obtain an insight into the thinking of university students, it is indispensable to know some characteristics of their educational experience. Consequently, the latter part of this chapter will be concerned with secondary schools.

Traditional Schools

Perhaps since the fifth or sixth century, the Ethiopian Orthodox clergy has taught in schools attached to the monasteries and churches of northern and central Ethiopia.¹ Secular subjects such as science, history, and geography were unknown; instead, the church liturgy was taught, and pupils memorized extensive extracts from the Bible in Ge'ez, the liturgical language. The skills of painting, reading, music, and the writing of poetry and literature were also transmitted through the church schools, involving stages of learning for truly dedicated students. The large majority of children never attended since they were needed on the farm. Some church schools adopted the government's primary school curriculum in the 1960s.

In Moslem communities (that is, the coastal regions, the provinces of Wollo, Anussi, Bale, Harar, and Kaffa, and in areas bordering the Sudan), Quran schools taught the reading of the Quran in Arabic and the memorization of extensive parts of it. The numerous Moslem shrines were important centers of learning.² In areas with a large concentrated Moslem population, a synthesis developed between Quran and modern schools, with very heavy emphasis on language instruction (Arabic, Amharic, and English).

4 Part I

Secular Education. Haile Selassie's Role

Secular, westernized education in Ethiopia began in a few foreign mission schools in the late nineteenth century. Emperor Menilek opened the first state primary school in 1907, but government commitment to education began in earnest with Haile Selassie. Before the 1935 Italian invasion, he ordered the building of schools, hired foreign teachers, and even paid parents to send their sons to school.³ Such incentives were necessary because children were considered indispensable workers to the rural household. From 1920-1935 missionary schools increased, protected by Haile Selassie, who also encouraged and supported the expansion of government schools. During the Italian occupation (1936-1941) this development was interrupted; all government and most mission schools were closed.

From 1941 government efforts again focused on Ethiopia's secular education. Haile Selassie consistently identified himself as the father and upholder of modern education, and he had this theme endlessly repeated in the mass media throughout his lifetime. As late as the 1970s he maintained that he was the intellectual father of the students. He aimed persistently at drawing the educated near him to develop a kind of father-son relationship. Graduates who returned from studies abroad would be received in audience, and it is a fact that he was almost worshipped by primary school students until the 1960s.⁴

Haile Selassie tirelessly visited schools, sometimes bringing fruit from his private orchards, he handed out certificates and prizes and sent promising students abroad to study at his "own" expense. He stressed the importance of education in Ethiopia's development to such an extent that it appeared to be a magic formula for change.⁵ Precisely how it was to be used in the modernization of the country was not studied systematically. Appointed foreign advisers tended to think that what had proved successful in their countries would also benefit Ethiopian development.

Enrollment

At the time of the Italian invasion there were approximately 5,000 students in twenty government schools, half of which were located in the capital. Mission schools at this time were attended by 2,500 - 3,000 students.⁶ After World War II the expansion in government schools was much greater than in mission schools, and it is the former with which this chapter deals.

Table I shows that about 75 percent of all students attended government schools between 1960 and 1970, less than 10 percent were in mission schools, and less than 4 percent were in an Ethiopian church school which had adopted the government school curriculum. Private school enrollment mostly consisted of pupils who could not obtain a place in a government school. Some of the

private schools had high standards, namely, those run by the Americans, Germans, French, and English, the Nazareth school, and St. Joseph's, but most provided an appallingly poor education.⁷

Table 1. Enrollment in Different Types of Schools in Ethiopia, 1960-1961 and 1970-1971

Type of school	1960-1961		1970-1971	
	Enrollment	Percentage	Enrollment	Percentage
Government	186,192	74.3	594,400	74.7
Mission	24,398	9.7	70,746	8.9
Private	20,401	8.2	103,014	12.9
Church	7,820	3.2	27,536	3.5
Community	11,642	4.6		
Total	250,459	100.0	795,716	100.0

Source: *Statistical Abstract 1964* (Addis Ababa Central Statistical Office, 1964), p. 143; and *Statistical Abstract 1971* (Addis Ababa Central Statistical Office, 1971), p. 193.

Table 2. Enrollment in All Schools

Year	1960-1961	1968-1969	1970-1971
Primary 1 - 6	224,017	513,981	655,427
Secondary 7 - 12	22,596	88,861	126,357
Higher level 13 - 16	939	3,870	4,543
Specialized schools	2,907	9,559	9,389

Source: Adapted from *Statistical Abstract* for the years 1964 (p. 143), 1970 (p. 189), and 1971 (p. 191), published by the Central Statistical Office, Addis Ababa.

Table 2 shows the achievement in expanding education twenty and thirty years after the Italian attempt to colonize Ethiopia. The table shows conspicuous expansion of total enrollment, but among the estimated respective age groups, it was dismally low. In 1961, when the average enrollment in African primary schools was estimated at more than 40 percent, the Ethiopian figure was 3.8 percent; on the secondary level, estimates for the continent and Ethiopia were 3.5 and 0.5 percent, respectively.⁸

6 Part I

In May 1961 ECA and UNESCO sponsored a conference of African states on the continental development of education, held in Addis Ababa. In the proposed plan that emerged, the target for Africa was universal, compulsory, free primary education in twenty years. The report submitted to the Ministry of Education by the conference's Ethiopian study committee expressed considerable concern over the comparatively poor status of education in the country.⁷ It pointed out that Ethiopia's per capita expenditure on education was one of the lowest in Africa and that it had to be decided "whether or not Ethiopia wished to keep in step with other African countries in the development of education." The committee's recommendations were stressed to be the "very minimum action" needed if Ethiopia wanted to survive in the face of continental development.

UNESCO official statistics revealed that educational achievements in other African countries were much more impressive than in Ethiopia, especially at elementary and secondary levels.⁸ The Ethiopian study committee proposed a target of 81.8 percent of the primary school age group enrolled by 1980, or more than 3.5 million children. The government rejected the proposals as too costly.⁹ In order to reach that goal, by 1970-71 the enrollment would have had to be more than 1.7 million, or 46.8 percent of the age group. Actual primary attendance that year was much less than half the proposed number, or approximately 12 percent.¹⁰ In 1971 Teahome Weyew concluded: "Whatever criteria is used to assess the progress of education during the last five to eight years either in continental or national terms, Ethiopian educational development has fallen far behind even modest expectations."¹¹

Enrollment by Province

Because of Ethiopia's size and its ethnic and linguistic diversity, the geographical distribution of enrollment is noteworthy. An estimate of the percentage, by age groups, of students in the various provinces in 1967-1968 reveals the extent to which educational opportunities were concentrated in Addis Ababa and Amhara and to which some provinces lagged far behind.¹² The average percentage of children age 7-12 enrolled in government primary schools that year was 8.5 (almost 12 percent if mission, church, and private schools are included¹³); comparable figures for Addis Ababa and Eritrea (mostly Amhara) were 33.5 and 18 percent. In the province of Bale, enrollment was only 2.7 percent, in Sidamo, Tigray, Genu Gofa, Harari, and Wollo it was less than 6 percent.

A similar picture emerges with respect to secondary school attendance. Among the country's junior high school age group (13-14) average attendance was 4.1 percent, for the high school age group (15-18) 1.7 percent. The figures for Addis Ababa were 35.1 and 11.4 percent, for Eritrea 23.3 and 4.3 percent.

Bale and Guna Gofa provinces had 1.1 and 1.8 percent enrollment in junior high schools and between 0.3 and 0.4 in high schools. Without question, two major characteristics of Ethiopian education around 1970 were small enrollments among an estimated population of 24.3 million¹⁶ and a very uneven geographical distribution of schools. This again reveals the inequality of educational opportunities among provinces and particularly between rural and urban Ethiopia.

Attrition

Ethiopian education has been plagued by very high attrition levels. In 1960, 83 percent of the children who had entered primary school six years earlier had dropped out; by 1967 this figure had decreased to 66 percent. The greatest attrition occurred before the second grade.¹⁷ In the national sixth grade examination,¹⁸ failures increased from 17 percent in 1963 to 26 percent in 1969, partially reflecting the system's growing numbers and the shortage of places in junior secondary schools.

At the secondary level, 70 percent of students who had entered junior high school had not reached the twelfth grade in 1967.¹⁹ The lapse was largely due to the high and rising percentage of failures in the eighth grade examination, and it also reflected the lack of space in the high schools and the university. The mounting pressure of numbers on the few high schools (42 in 1968, of which 18 were in Shoa) and then the university made it necessary to fail many promising students. Whereas less than 30 percent of those who sat for the national eighth grade examination failed in 1957 and 1958, almost 60 percent failed in 1959.²⁰ The tensions created among junior high school students made it necessary to reduce the number of failures, and in the second half of the 1960s the figure was slightly less than 40 percent.²¹

The results of the twelfth grade examination also caused profound insecurity and frustration among young, ambitious Ethiopians. From 1959 onward more students failed than passed the E.S.C. During 1963 through 1968, 7,326 sat for the examination and only 2,039, or 27 percent, passed; by the late 1960s more than 80 percent failed.²² Table 3 illustrates the magnitude of the problem at the high school level.

Attrition meant a frightening loss of human resources. For drop-outs at the lower levels it often meant devolution into illiteracy, and at all levels there was dissatisfaction among people whose expectations were not met. The educational system was elitist because so few among the school age population were ever enrolled in a school, and very few of those who entered graduated. Moreover, each of the three main steps in the educational pyramid, elementary, junior secondary, and secondary, far from providing the many potential drop-outs with at least some practical skills, was only a preparation for the next step

3 Part I

Table 3. Failure in the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination

	Grade 12 enrollment	Failed Number	Failed Percent
1951	51	6	11
1955	159	71	44
1959	441	261	59
1962	933	713	76
1967	3,223	2,656	83.4
1968	3,893	3,103	83.5
1969	5,100	4,227	83.9

Sources: Data up to 1961 are adapted from E. Trudeau, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," Ph.D. diss., University of Montreal, p. 17. Data for 1967-1970 are from J. Summerdrill, *Nadir Sallende's University: A Blueprint for Development* (Addis Ababa: HSIU, 1970), p. 31, under the assumption that all who passed the ESLC entered HSIU, which had been the practice since the opening of UCAA (*ibid.*, pp. 70, 71).

Crudely put, the system forced participants always to continue the educational process, those who fell by the wayside were failures and rarely could be accommodated in or made useful to society, little better than unskilled workers when it came to earning a living.²³ Once students from rural Ethiopia entered the educational system, they embarked on a journey of no return, either they must win glory (pass the exams) or become drop-outs hunting in vain for a job in some urban center, more often than not in Addis Ababa. The lack of government incentives to return students to the land, the backwardness of the rural areas, and the identification with western values which the schools promoted made going back almost impossible. Thus the students' preoccupation with grades and examinations was considerable. With so much at stake, poor grades made many students turn against their teachers, and pupils' frustration was so great that often only violent emotional reactions could relieve the tension.

Causes

The abysmally low output of educational efforts in Ethiopia reflects the fact that input was also low. The comparatively limited state of Ethiopian education, revealed at the UNESCO conference in Addis Ababa in 1961, stemmed from the fact that Ethiopia had not received a similar financial support and great inflow of foreign teachers as had the former British and French African territories.²⁴ Government priorities also were a major factor.

In 1969-1970 the per capita expenditure on education was E\$2.8, for national defense it was E\$3.5. Education accounted for about 14 percent of the total budget that year; defense and security more than 30 percent.²⁵ Comparing the expenditure on education of seventeen African countries over several years in the 1960s, Ethiopia ranked lowest with 11.4 percent of the national budget. Seven of the countries spent more than 20 percent. Nigeria 27.5 percent, and Uganda 29.4 percent. A comparison made by Teahome Wogera of per capita expenditures on education by seven countries in North America, Asia, and Africa ranked Ethiopia lowest, together with Pakistan, at U.S.\$0.34. Canada spent U.S.\$87.75 and the United States \$116.²⁶

In Ethiopia, growing school enrollment was in no way matched by a similar increase in resources -- teachers, classrooms, and educational material. Although enrollment almost doubled during 1958-1965, the percentage of government expenditure remained virtually static. Moreover, much of the money approved for education was not made available in time and was therefore forfeited; the Ministry of Finance often deliberately withheld money, even for teachers' salaries. Revenues from the special tax on arable land to support elementary education, introduced around 1950, were clearly insufficient for the purpose,²⁷ and during the 1960s the relative quality of education gradually deteriorated.²⁸

The Foreign Transplant

Modern education in Ethiopia was imported from Great Britain and the United States, was influenced by various other western countries, and was not attuned to the country's needs. Patterns of education curricula and texts intended to further the interests of the most highly industrialized countries were transplanted into one of the least developed rural economies in the world.²⁹ There was little of relevance to the basic and immediate needs of Ethiopian society.³⁰ To the average child the school was essentially an alien institution about which his own parents were usually ignorant. What was learned in school could not be related to the environment. The fact that financial resources were evidently inadequate even 15 percent of the school age population led some educational advisers to question, somewhat vaguely, the appropriateness of the western model to Ethiopia.³¹ There is, however, nothing vague in Melesse Wolde Mariam's rejection of the educational system "that teaches children almost nothing useful and relevant to their pressing everyday needs." He judged the curricula to be "specifically designed to alienate the young from their society and to inculcate into them a sense of inadequacy and apathy... Practically nothing in the schools matches with anything in the homes of the children, as though the schools were built to make the children hate their homes."³²

Even in government circles it was acknowledged that the school curricula

was not adapted to the realities of Ethiopian rural life and that it did not meet the needs of society at large, but little or no effort was made to think about the content of an educational system geared toward the country's needs.²³ The coming and going of educational advisers from different countries in Europe and North America also was not entirely beneficial. Mostly they shared one characteristic, inadequate knowledge of Ethiopia, and there was a tendency to undo what one's predecessor had done and to impress on the Ethiopian educational system some visible sign of one's own ideas and efforts.

The fact that all instruction in the primary schools was in Amharic, the official language, severely hampered the learning capacity of all those children whose first language was not Amharic. The appalling number of primary school drop-outs, especially between the first and second grade must to some extent be related to problems of communication.²⁴ Beginning in the seventh grade instruction was mostly in English, knowledge of which depended upon the kind of instruction received in primary school. The problems of a non-Amharic speaker in the Ethiopian school system can be compared to those of an English child who receives all primary school instruction in Russian and switches to Turkish upon entering secondary school. Children from the Quran schools in Moslem areas faced even greater difficulties when entering the government schools.²⁵ British educational advisers to Haile Selassie in the early 1940s recommended the use of non-Amharic vernacular languages,²⁶ but the government policy of creating a unified nation through Amharization meant promoting Amharic.

Until 1971 candidates for the ESLC were required to pass in five subjects, three of them being English, mathematics, and Amharic.²⁷ As Amharic was not the first language for about 40 percent of the candidates, this subject became the source of considerable worry and the cause of many ESLC failures.²⁸ Almost the same proportion of candidates had English, used in secondary school textbooks and instruction, as their third language, while for the majority it was their second. Most elementary schools did not have teachers qualified to prepare students in English, and more often than not, subsequent education was impaired.²⁹

The Teachers

Primary school teachers, especially in the 1950s, were inadequately prepared for their work. Less than 10 percent had eight years of schooling plus one year of teacher training, 60 percent had from five to seven years at school, and 25 percent had less than a fifth grade education.³⁰ The situation improved in the 1960s, and by 1967 more than half the elementary school teachers were graduates from one of the five teacher training institutes (TTI), about 30 percent had secondary education. Supplying qualified instruction for primary schools was hampered by the tendency of teachers to leave the profession.³¹

In the junior secondary schools about 40 percent of the teachers were TTI graduates and about 26 percent had an incomplete college education. 22 percent were college graduates, mostly expatriates.⁴³ In the senior secondary schools practically all teachers were foreigners during the 1950s and early 1960s,⁴⁴ and toward the end of that decade the figure was still more than 70 percent.⁴⁵ Around 1960 there were 570 foreign teachers in government secondary schools,⁴⁶ and by 1970 that number had doubled.⁴⁷ The foreigners were predominantly Indian contract teachers and, after 1962, U.S. Peace Corps volunteers, but a large number of other countries were represented. The approximately 500 Ethiopian teachers were, to a large extent, unqualified. Between 1954 and 1969, the Faculty of Education at HSU graduated 262 with a B.A. degree, of these only about 50 worked as classroom teachers.⁴⁸ Many students taught in the secondary schools in their university service year, as did a number of university drop-outs.⁴⁹

The foreign teachers were not trained to meet the specific needs and problems of Ethiopian society. This was also true of the Ethiopian graduates of the TTIs and the university, who had been taught by foreigners a curriculum designed for another culture.⁵⁰ One may wonder what was worse—an Ethiopian teacher unqualified to teach the foreign curriculum, or a foreigner unqualified to see the curriculum in the proper Ethiopian perspective, and both necessarily adopting a defensive attitude to the content of the educational material. Unless teachers believed in the relevance of what they were teaching, they would undermine their own position. The tremendous discrepancy in living standards between rural and urban areas tended to attract better educated teachers on all levels to the provincial capitals and especially to Addis Ababa. A 1971 research paper confirmed common assumptions that most graduates from the Faculty of Education at HSU lived and worked in Addis Ababa (around 60 percent). It also confirmed that the majority of those teachers trained for the secondary schools, where they were vitally needed, were utilized by the Ministry of Education as administrators and not in the classroom.⁵¹ The standard of teaching suffered.

The profession was neither popular nor respected in Ethiopia. It was felt to have comparatively low status, and many wanted to leave it.⁵² The haphazard administrative practices of the Ministry of Education were a common conversational topic. Service in the provinces had few if any compensations. On the contrary, teachers felt that their chances of being hired, promoted, transferred, remunerated, and for that matter diminished in proportion to the distance from the capital. Crudely put, teachers were afraid of being stuck and forgotten if they lived in a remote place.

The difference in teaching standards in various parts of the country was to some extent reflected in the results of the ESLC. From 1963-1968, 40 percent passed in Addis Ababa, 30 percent in Eritrea, 71 percent in Shoa, and

20 percent in Harar.⁵² The capital, its province, and the provinces with the other largest urban centers-Ammara, Harar, and Dire Dawa-had the highest percentages. In Genu Gofa 2 percent passed the exam, and in Illubabor, Wollega, Gojam, Begemedit, and Tigré the percentages ranged between 5 and 9 percent. In the other provinces (except Bale, which had no senior secondary school) the figures were between 11 and 18 percent. Thus, distance from the central urban areas was associated with teaching standards and the possibility of survival through the school system.

Extreme classroom overcrowding undoubtedly accounts for some of the high drop-out levels. In the three first years of primary school, average class size in the late 1960s was 70-100 students, and more than 50 was an average for all government school classes.⁵³

On the whole, the lack of materials severely lowered the standard of teaching and encouraged extensive copying and memorization. The latter was a method firmly established in the traditional church and Quran schools. The lack of books discouraged inquisitiveness on the part of students and encouraged such traditional attitudes as deference and obedience to authority, since students had to rely solely on the word of the teacher in order to get ahead. Some schools lacked practically all materials in most courses.⁵⁴ To be without textbooks was common, and students copied from the teacher's notes on the blackboard. Much time was spent this way. Access to Peace Corps equipment allowed some teachers to write the texts on stencils and distribute the mimeographs to the students. A report from an advisory group to the Ministry of Education is worth quoting. "The few textbooks that somehow manage to trickle down through the maze of bureaucratic red tape extending from Headquarters via the Provincial Education Offices to the District Education Offices and finally to the school directors, are more often than not, securely locked in storage rooms."⁵⁵ Anyone who had taught at a provincial school could testify to the truth of this statement.

Living Conditions

An attempt will be made to outline some social factors which may have contributed unfavorably to the mental and physical well-being of secondary school students and interfered with their concentration on learning. How very true is the statement made by a university faculty member and seconded by an Ethiopian Dean of Students: "The university is for many students the end of a long and arduous journey, with for the Western observer unthought of hardships."⁵⁶

Until the late 1940s most secondary students were boarders who received everything they needed from the Ministry of Education. Day students were given £S20 a month, as much as a full-time unskilled worker earned. Those who completed primary education moved to Addis Ababa for secondary school,

which was no small part of the achievement of having attained that level. Compared to the rest of the population, and certainly to those in the same age group, students lived in luxury.⁵⁷ This image lingered in the popular mind long after these blissful times came to an end.⁵⁸ By the 1960s, the severe economic support and personal attention of the schools had ceased and the number of high school students had increased.⁵⁹

Even after the boarding system was truncated a considerable proportion of secondary school students left home to pursue their education. In the mid-1960s perhaps as many as two-thirds of those entering the university had not lived with one or both of their parents while attending high school, toward the end of the decade this proportion may have dropped to about half.⁶⁰ We do not know what proportion of the large majority who failed the ESLC had lived away from home during secondary school or how this factor affected academic performance. One study of HSIU freshman, however, showed that the academic results of students who had lived separately from parents or relatives prior to entering the university were better than for those who had stayed with their families.⁶¹ It seems as if independence from traditional society made the educational process easier. A field supervision team of the Ethiopian University Service in five northern provinces in 1971 noted how common it was for students to live away from their families. In Dejita for example, this was the case for about 80 percent of secondary school students.⁶²

Leaving home meant being without parental control or guidance. The result was a further and deeper alienation from the familial environment and culture than that brought about by the content of education. The parents were mostly unfamiliar with the modern world and were thus unable to provide advice. This situation arose suddenly in a society where parental authority and children's submission to it were very strong.⁶³ Students had to turn to one another for moral support in coping with new demands. The EUS team of 1971 noted that drinking among secondary school students was a problem in six of the fifteen places visited in the six northern provinces. In some locations lack of discipline among students was characterized as "terrible." There seemed to be a clear connection between drinking, disciplinary problems, and the lack of family supervision. The problems apparently were worst among large congregations of students living away from home.⁶⁴

Once governmental financial support was withdrawn from school students, survival became the most important problem. A substantial number were left to continue their education with little or no material aid from their families. It is important to stress that lack of food was not restricted to high school students who left home, but was common among all Ethiopian school children.⁶⁵ For a student to go to school without breakfast, stay the day without eating, and return home for the daily meal was not at all rare.⁶⁶ Being away from one's family, however, aggravated the situation.⁶⁷

A study based on a questionnaire answered by 292 school teachers and directors in 242 different elementary and secondary schools revealed that shortage of food and shelter was mentioned most frequently as the major cause for attrition in the school system. Hunger was also mentioned by 236 of the respondents as one of the main problems of students.⁶⁴ In my Faculty of Education sample,⁶⁵ more representative of the provinces than of Addis Ababa, 16.4 percent of the respondents stated they had not had enough to eat at any stage of school before the university level. Almost 23 percent stated they had not had enough to eat while attending primary school, and 23 percent said this was true while they were attending senior secondary school. Hunger was thus a reality for a substantial number of students. It was common to get supplies from parents in the countryside in the form of grain or cooked food, although these were often insufficient. In many cases nothing was forthcoming because of parental poverty or because relatives did not approve of the student going to school when help was needed at home. Food preparation also was a problem when the only place to cook was an open fire on the floor. Money was in extremely short supply and it was not uncommon for a student to live on US\$1.5 a month. There was an abundance of cheap hotels where students would have a couple of meals per day of soup and wat for 30-50 cents. Alternatively, a group of students would pool resources, do their own shopping in the market and hire a woman to prepare their meals. There were however, students whose responses were so inadequate and unpredictable that they could not enter into any kind of fixed arrangements and lived hand-to-mouth.

Some students lodged with relatives, but most either stayed alone or with other students in an overcrowded rented house. Often this was a small cottage with an earthen floor and no windows or furniture except for beds. Students would pay rent of E31.3 each, depending upon how many shared the room. Literally from one dim bulb hanging from the ceiling, a luxury many did not enjoy. One-fifth of the students surveyed in my Faculty of Education sample did not have electricity where they lived while at ending senior secondary school.⁶⁶ Students were extremely lucky if there was running water near the house. This is not to say their living quarters were worse than what they were used to, and access to water and electricity in the urban centers was for many a new and pleasant experience. Even so the lack of furniture and privacy was not conducive to academic success, and neither were the urban surroundings. A 1969 report to the Ministry of Education noted the nakedness and lack of discipline among students, but it also pointed out that those who took their studies seriously were handicapped by obstacles beyond their control.

In the provinces, students have to leave their towns and travel to pursuit of education and live in crowded and unhealthy dormitories where there are not even the minimum facilities (such as electricity and a table and chair set to ensure privacy) that are

had importance for effective study. It is simply impossible for a student to do any good reading, private study or even his homework. More often than not, students live so close to 'Uej' and 'Tigre' that the temptation to frequent them is irresistible. After all, the wish to conceal wills away from home far from the watchful eyes of parents and relatives. The detrimental effects of such living conditions on the student's morale, on his health and on his studies is too obvious to warrant comment.

The survey of teachers and directors mentioned above also revealed that parents refused to permit children to attend school during harvest seasons. Transportation was another major problem because of the scattered pattern of rural settlement and the few schools.⁷³ Two-thirds of the students would travel on foot and the rest by bicycle, horse, mule, or bus. It was common for children to walk one or two hours, even longer, to attend school and the questionnaire data reveal that 36.04 percent of them traveled an average of 117 km one way.⁷⁴ It may be presumed that those who faced the greatest hardships in attending school were among the earlier drop-outs, but enough remained to make walking long distances a feature of secondary school life in pre-socialist Ethiopia. In the Faculty of Education sample 12.2 percent of the students said they had walked one or two hours a day to attend secondary school⁷⁵ and on week-ends and for vacations some traveled up to 100 km to reach home.⁷⁶

Yet another aspect of students' backgrounds may contribute to our understanding of the "arduous journey" to the university. Various investigations reveal that about 20 percent of students had experienced the death of their fathers, another 9-10 percent the death of their mothers, and more than 25 percent the divorce of their parents. It is impossible to measure the effect on students' educational careers, but according to one study based on personal reports of 150 students, the unexpected death of either father or mother was a source of considerable suffering and distress during adolescence.⁷⁷

From the point of view of a western observer the social situation of the secondary school student certainly warrants the description "arduous." To reach the new world of modern education, where the student expected to find another and better standard of living required separation from family, long walks to and from school, uncertainties about shelter and food of an hurried, and lack of medical facilities. How did the students themselves feel about the situation? The hardships must have been seen as unavoidable as part of the process that had to be endured. After all they were the daily lot of large numbers of fellow Ethiopians who were not fortunate enough to pursue an education. The feeling of being in a privileged position may have eased the burden somewhat, but students were not unaffected by these conditions. The present writer remembers only too well the constant complaints of some students about headache, stomach trouble, and lack of money. Teachers speculated as to whether the health problems were due to mental stress caused by the educational situation or to shortage of food.

The tendency was, and is say, to treat student health problems as a nuisance, as a manifestation of self-centeredness and hypochondria. The unwillingness to help students with problems was partly self-defense among teachers who did not receive enough pay to meet the demands of their own extended families. Teachers contributed to food programs or welfare projects to help the most needy, and there were students who were totally dependent on some teacher's kindness for their daily existence. It was common for Ethiopian University Service teachers (third-year students on national service) to have a hungry pupil share their meals. It is difficult to know how the Ethiopian secondary school student experienced his own situation, but the EUS teachers, themselves Ethiopians, definitely evaluated their pupils' lives as deprived.⁷⁷ Only the most tenacious and intelligent could hope to survive.

Students who saw no chance of success in secondary school and eventually on the ESLC—because of poor educational preparation, personal poverty, or both—competed for admission to a vocational school for teacher training, nursing or health careers, business, and telecommunications; for a place at the technical institute at Bahir Dar; or for admission to the air force. These institutions gave tuition, food, housing, and pocket money to the students. In 1962-1963, 1,229 students left grades 9-11 for the vocational schools, in 1963-1964 and 1965-1966 the numbers were 1,343 and 2,107.⁷⁸

Conclusion

The most conspicuous feature of Ethiopia's education in the 1960s was its small size. Also significant was the high percentage of drop-outs and students who failed to pass exit level national examinations in both primary and secondary schools. The high attrition must be seen in relation to the host of problems that faced Ethiopian education: lack of financial and human resources, a curriculum more adapted to western than Ethiopian needs, the nonvernacular languages of instruction, and the poor living conditions of the population in general and of students in particular.

Even allowing for Ethiopia's underdevelopment, its efforts in education were too feeble. In part, political circumstances did not allow resources to be tapped where they existed. Those who could pay, that is, those in positions of power and influence, had no difficulty finding suitable schools for their children and thus did not themselves feel the increasing and desperate drive among Ethiopian youth to survive and achieve in the educational system.

Ironically, the introduction of western education to Ethiopia was a prerequisite for the development of student social and political consciousness. This factor combined with frustration and despair contributed to the rise of activism and opposition within the student community. By the late 1960s, student politicians were able to incite antigovernment agitation in most of the country's

secondary schools, and the issues need to erode government authority were mainly connected with the educational system.⁷⁹

Notes

1. Tadesse 1964:1-3 and Girma Amlak, "Aims and Purposes of Church Education in Ethiopia," 1967.
2. Halle Gabriel Dagne, "Oromo School System in Ethiopia," 1971.
3. Tadesse 1964:3-6; and Ejerkens 1970:50-51.
4. LC 77, 196, 72.
5. *Ethiopian Observer* 3, No. 1, February 1959 66, 74; and Halle Wolde Mikael, "Government Schools in Ethiopia," 1970:3.
6. Ejerkens 1970:51.
7. Zewditu Yimatu, "A Look at the Private Schools in Addis Ababa," 1971:17-27.
8. Tesfome Wassew, "A Follow-up Study of the 1961 Addis Ababa Education Conference of African States: Implications for Ethiopia," 1971:46, 47.
9. IEC Ministry of Education: *Proposed Plan for the Development of Education in Ethiopia*, 1961:1, 4, 17, 19.
10. Tadesse 1964:22.
11. Tadesse 1964:23, and Ministry of Education, *Proposed Plan*, 1961:9.
12. IEC Central Statistical Office, *Population of Ethiopia*, 1971:1, estimated the primary school population to be about 4.12 million children.
13. Tesfome Wassew, "Follow-up Study," 1971:31.
14. Brooks, "Literacy in Ethiopia," 1970: Table 7-9.
15. Halle Wolde Mikael, "Government Schools in Ethiopia," 1970:11.
16. *Statistical Abstract* 1970:23.
17. IEC Ministry of Education, *Welfare at Primary and Secondary Levels*, 1969:12.
18. Tesfome Wassew, "Follow-up Study," 1971:52.
19. IEC Ministry of Education, *School Census for Ethiopia*, 1961-1969:21, 73, 89.
20. Girma Amlak 1964:112.
21. Ministry of Education, *School Census for Ethiopia*, 1961-1969:22, 23, 74.
22. Tadesse 1964:17; Summerskill 1970:32; and Halle Wolde Mikael, "Government Schools," 1970:14.
23. HSIU, *Conference on Secondary Education in Ethiopia*, 1962:24.
24. Tadesse 1964:21.
25. *Statistical Abstract* 1970:23, 131. Military expenditure was actually higher than the per capita expense indicates, as the budget item "Internal Order and Justice," placed as high as "National Defense," partly included outlays for internal security.
26. Tesfome Wassew, "A Follow-up Study," 1971:30, 51.
27. Merkabla 1974:343.
28. Mulugetta Wolday, "The State of Educational Finance in Ethiopia: A Short Survey," 1967:18-26; and Halle Wolde Mikael, "Government Schools," 1970.
29. Tadesse 1964:9-10.
30. Halle Wolde Mikael, "Government Schools," 1970:11.
31. Ministry of Education, *Report on the Current Operation of the Education System in Ethiopia*, prepared for the Council of Ministers of the Imperial Ethiopian Government November 1966. Chapter II of this report was printed in the *Ethiopian Journal of Education* with the comment that it was no less accurate in 1969 than in 1966 (EJE 1969:32-33.)

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32. Hailu Wolde Mariam 1971:103.
33. Tredenn 1964:76, and HSIU. Conference on Secondary Education, 1962:24
34. Ministry of Education, *Wekayeg*, 1969:7
35. Halle Gabriel Degra, "Quara School System," 1971:1
36. Björkman 1970:58.
37. After 1971 a pass in two of the three subjects was theoretically possible, but the rise in the required grade point average within which the three subjects were included still made it difficult for non-Amharic speakers to pass the ESLC.
38. Langmuir and Getachew W. Selassie, "Language Learning Patterns in Ethiopia as Reported by ESLCF Candidates in 1968," 1968:1, and Langmuir and Bowen, "Language Learning Patterns in Ethiopia as Reported by HSIU Freshmen in Degree Programs," 1969:3.
39. Roper, J., "Why not Abandon English Teaching in the Elementary School?" 1969, Langmuir and Bowen, "English Language Reading Ability of Ninth Grade Students in Ethiopia," 1967.
40. Tredenn 1964:1.
41. Aklilu Habte, "Brain Drain in the Elementary School: Why Teachers Leave the Profession," 1967:27
42. Mulugeta Eshetu, "Knowledge of Priorities in Education," 1969:31 Table 1
43. HSIU Conference on Secondary Education 1962:3
44. Mulugeta Eshetu, "Knowledge of Priorities," 1969
45. Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Abstract* 1964:142.
46. "Incentive and Accelerating the Production of Secondary School Teachers: A proposal," *Ethiopian Journal of Education* 1, No. 1 December 1971:62
47. Tilahun Ganta, "Follow-up Survey of Education Faculty Graduates," 1971:14-59
48. *EUS Field Supervision in Five Northern Provinces*, by P. Keisha, Preliminary Report 1971
49. Tilahun Ganta, "Follow-up Survey," 1971
50. Ibid.
51. Tredenn 1964:18; Aklilu Habte, "Brain Drain," 1967:27, Ambober Mengesha, "A Survey of Social Status of Teachers in Ethiopia," 1971:1, and Guszberg and Smith 1967:101.
52. Hailu Wolde Mariam, "Government Schools," 1970 Table 14.
53. Ministry of Education, *Wekayeg*, 1969:5, Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Abstract* 1970:198.
54. *EUS Field Supervision*, 1971.
55. Ministry of Education, *Report on the Current Operation of the Education System in Ethiopia Chapter II*, Printed in *Ethiopian Journal of Education* June 1969:53
56. Gid, "Some Patterns of Training and Feeding in 56 Newotic Ethiopian Students," 1964, and Tebaruwa Wogew, "Report on Student Support," 1969:26.
57. Lorine 1969:111, 112.
58. Giorgis Asmare, "Aims and Purposes of Church Education in Ethiopia," 1967:9.
59. A few mission and private secondary schools still had boarding facilities.
60. Gid and Van Luijk, "A Follow-up of 1964 Freshmen at Halle Selassie I University," 1970:23 and Paauwswag, "Report on a Research on the Social Situation of HSIU Students," 1970:4 My sample from the Faculty of Education in 1971 showed that 65.4 percent had not lived with their parents prior to entering the university. This sample had a rural bias.
61. Gid and Van Luijk, "A Follow-up," 1970:23
62. *EUS Field Supervision*, 1971

63. Levine 1965:116-17.
64. *EUS Field Supervision*, 1971.
65. Again, this must be seen in connection with the low calorie intake in the population in general, estimated to be lower than that in India (Ameda Bequeta and Ethatu Chole 1969:34).
66. Abinash Workie, "The Effect of Improved Nutrition on Intellectual Performance and Attitudes," undated:9-10.
67. *EUS Field Supervisor*, 1971, and Alemu Weldeslassie, "Student Unrest and the School Director," 1970:19.
68. Teahome Wagaw and Darge Wole, "Teachers and Directors Speak Out About School Problems," 1971:50.
69. A questionnaire from third-year students in the Faculty of Education conducted in 1973, referred to as Education Faculty Sample, EFS, 1973.
70. *Ibid*.
71. Ministry of Education, *Report on the Current Operation of the Educational System*, 1966:52-55.
72. Tej is an alcoholic beverage made from honey. "Tej bet" is a house where this and other alcoholic drinks are served. "Banna bet" is a coffee house.
73. Teahome Wagaw and Darge Wole, "Teachers and Directors," 1971:50.
74. *EFS 1973*
75. Alemu Weldeslassie, "Student Unrest," 1970:19.
76. Pauswangs, "Report on a Research," 1970:Table XV; EFS 1973; and Ronner, "Adolescence in Retrospect," 1973:2.
77. *EUS Field Supervision*, 1971; and LC 110, 19 S, 1973.
78. Ginzberg and Smoth 1967:56-59.
79. See chapter 5.

1:2 University Education

Before the Italian occupation in 1935, more than 200 Ethiopians had received advanced education abroad.¹ About 30 of these either were liquidated by the Italians or were killed in resistance fighting, and except for a few in exile, no Ethiopians received advanced education during the six-year occupation. It has been pointed out how the lapse created a notable gap between the pre- and postwar generations of educated officials.² In the period after liberation, when the reorganization and development of educational institutions took place the flow of students going abroad to university increased. Between 1941 and 1959 about 553 men and women returned from higher studies.³ In the late 1950s and early 1960s around 1,000 students were abroad each year, and a decade later this number had doubled.⁴ Ethiopian students were to be found in about 40 countries and on all continents. In 1970 the largest contingent was in the United States and numbered more than 700.

The Foundation of Postsecondary Education

On the initiative of Haile Selassie, a group of French-Canadian Jesuit teachers were called to Ethiopia in 1946 to help organize elementary, secondary, and professional education, provided they engaged in no proselytizing and did not wear their religious habit in public.⁵ The head of the group, Lucien Matte, was entrusted with the planning of higher education,⁶ and in 1950 he was asked to take full responsibility for founding the first college in Ethiopia. On December 11, 1950, classes began at the University College of Addis Ababa with nine Canadian and European teachers and 25 male students. The main academic problem facing UCAA in the first few years was how to obtain recognition

by other academic institutions. Basically it became a question of independence versus affiliation with a U.S. or European university such an association being a common practice in African institutions of higher learning. Independence was Ethiopia's choice because negotiations with officials of the University of London failed. The latter wanted to impose a particular British pattern, as in the universities in Accra, Ibadan, and Kampala. Ethiopian negotiators wanted to exploit other models of higher learning to meet the specific needs and conditions of the country. The independent LCAA received its charter from the government only a few weeks before the first class graduated in August 1954.

At the graduation ceremony the Vice-Minister of Education expressed special concern for agriculture and technical education. LCAA contained faculties of Arts, Science, and Education, all situated at Arat Kilo in Addis Ababa. In 1954 the College of Agriculture was established at Alemaya, 500 kilometers east of the capital. U.S. aid developed and maintained the college through a contract with Oklahoma State University until 1968, when the agreement was terminated. The Imperial College of Engineering was founded in 1943 and later became the Faculty of Technology. In 1969 it moved into new facilities built by German funds midway between Arat Kilo and Sidist Kilo. The Ethio-Swedish Institute of Building Technology, generally referred to as the Building College, was founded in 1954 through an agreement with the Swedish government. Its site is five kilometers from Arat and Sidist Kilo in the southwestern part of the capital.

A training program for public health officers began in 1954 at the College of Public Health in Gondar, 40 kilometers north of Addis Ababa. It was originally supported by funds from the World Health Organization, UNICEF, and the American International Cooperation Administration. By the late 1960s the Public Health College was receiving most of its support from the Ethiopian government.

To train workers in the service of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, a Theological School was established in 1942. It became the Theological College of the Holy Trinity in 1960, located on its own campus close to the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, across the street from Arat Kilo campus.

Halle Sellasie I University

In 1961 all the colleges were united under a common administration as units of Halle Sellasie I University. The process had begun in 1951, when the Minister of Education had appointed a committee to consider the establishment of a university.⁴ In 1958, dissatisfied with the slow progress, Halle Sellasie appointed a special commission to prepare a plan for immediate action and called again on Lucien Matte for assistance. The U.S. International Cooperation Administration (ICA) was asked to help determine the current status of higher education, the needs which had to be met, and the organizational structure for

further development ICA asked the University of Utah to supply a team of experts which spent two months in Ethiopia before making recommendations.

The opening of the university was somewhat delayed by the attempted coup d'etat of December 1960 and by Haile Selassie's decision to give his own palace near Sidist Kilo to the new university as its main campus. The charter of Haile Selassie I University was published in February 1961, and the university was inaugurated with the emperor as its first chancellor on December 18, 1961.

During the 1960s the university expanded its training facilities with the establishment of the School of Social Work, the College of Business Administration, the Faculty of Law, and the Faculty of Medicine, all located on the main campus at Sidist Kilo.

A University Extension division, based on the UCAA unit, was founded in 1962 to offer university instruction to the average people who could not enter the university as full-time day students. Around 1970 nearly 1,000 students were connected to the university in this way.

In 1969 the Freshman Program was inaugurated to make the student's first year a preparation for the choice of major and minor fields of study to be pursued for three years. Particular emphasis was placed on giving students a better command of English, the language of instruction in the university, and of Ethiopian history and geography. Students were put in either a "life science" or a "physical science" stream but placement could be changed during the year.

A unique feature of HSU was the Ethiopia University Service, established in 1964. After the third year students served twelve months in the provinces, a degree requirement, and then completed their final year.

In his inaugural address Haile Selassie talked extensively and generally about the moral and spiritual objectives of a university education. Specifically, he asserted that it was vital to promote national unity and to educate Ethiopians for service to their country. The emperor mentioned the need for specialized training for the development of education and agriculture, for mineral exploitation and industrial expansion.⁹ On a continent which to such a large extent had drawn its leaders from the ranks of the university educated, Haile Selassie did not fail to stress higher studies as a requirement to provide modern leadership. However, the fundamental objective of the university was, according to the monarch, to safeguard and develop the Ethiopian culture. Somehow he wanted the religious traditions of Ethiopia to permeate the university. He spoke as if its foundation had grown organically and of necessity out of the "accumulated heritage," the culture, of the Ethiopian people. Thus, wishes and ideals were expressed as if they were realities.

The university was a foreign transplant and remained so for a long time, it fed heavily on foreign funds, administration, advisors, staff, curricula, and degree requirements. In this respect it was characteristic of most African universities. In later speeches Haile Selassie tended to view the university's respon-

sibility to identify and provide solutions for the fundamental problems of the country. To graduating students he would say "Your primary object should not be to emulate the high scientific and technological endeavours of more advanced nations, but to apply your knowledge to the basic issues of agriculture, public health, the exploitation of mineral resources, and the construction of roads and dams."¹⁰

When the university opened there were Ethiopian students who contested the need for such a costly institution in a country about 93 percent illiterate. They questioned a focus on elite education as opposed to primary schooling for the majority of the population. Was this not like building a house from the roof down?¹¹ The issue was discussed at the Inter-African Educational Conference in Addis Ababa in 1961, and its recommendation supported the Ethiopian policy "It is of the highest priority to ensure that an adequate proportion of the population receives secondary, postsecondary and university education, this should be put before the goal of universal primary education if for financial reasons these two are not yet compatible."¹²

University Government

Until the founding of HSU, in 1961, the University College of Addis Ababa had been the only chartered institution of higher studies. Its charter excluded staff representation from the upper echelon of university government but included the personal participation of the emperor.¹³ The 1961 charter of HSU closely followed the 1954 model. The Board of Governors was the highest governing body, eight of whose members were appointed by Haile Selassie as chancellor from whom all authority issued. The president of the university, appointed by the emperor upon the recommendation of the board was an ex officio member, and the only elected member was a graduate representative, first elected by the University Alumni Association in June 1967.¹⁴ The charter of 1961 expressly included representatives, usually the ministers themselves, of the ministries of education, public health, and agriculture, which reflected the intention that the university would be in close contact with the country's most pressing problems.¹⁵ The board comprised seven mostly educated abroad but also included the Orthodox church scholar, head of Trinity Cathedral, and confidant of Haile Selassie, Abba Hailé Menan Workneh, and Princess Ruth Desta, the emperor's granddaughter and the only woman on the board of governors. The mayor of Addis Ababa, Dr Hailé Giorgis Workneh, also became a member.

The president of the university, appointed by the emperor upon the recommendation of the board, was given a strong position as chief executive. Article 20 of the charter made "all members of the staff subordinate to him." He also hired and fixed the terms of employment of all staff, after consultation with the

faculty council and approval of the board.¹⁶ The two vice-presidents were nominated by the president and appointed by the emperor after the board's approval.¹⁷ The president of UCAA had been the French-Canadian Jesuit, Lucien Marie. For a short while in 1961-1962 Dr Harold W. Bentley from the University of Utah acted as the first president of MSLU and then in May 1963 the emperor appointed his grandson-in-law, Lj. Kassa Wolde Mariam, as the first Ethiopian president.¹⁸ He had been educated abroad and had served in high government positions as well as on the board of governors of the university prior to his appointment.¹⁹ In 1969 Dr Aklile Habte, also related to the Emperor through marriage, became the first president to be appointed from the university staff.

After the board of governors, the Faculty Council was the most important legislative body.²⁰ Its members were the president, the two vice-presidents, the dean of each faculty, the dean of students; the heads of departments, centers, and institutes if these were not attached to a faculty and three members elected by the full-time teaching staff of each faculty. The students had no representation. The faculty council was granted power to decide all academic matters relating to teaching, student admissions, examinations, the granting of degrees, and disciplinary problems, and it was authorized to "discuss and determine the internal policy of the University in general."²¹

The 1954 charter had created the office of a "Prorector of Discipline" called the dean of students. His functions included "the regulation and coordination of all extracurricular activities," "the drawing up and enforcement of particular regulations involving the conduct and behaviour of the students," and "the supervision of discipline, on and off campus."²² This function had been a feature of US not British universities and was anticipated by this time in North America.²³ The dean of students ranked with the academic deans. There was also an assistant dean for women who lived in the women's dormitory. The office of the dean of students was also an important feature of MSLU, although the 1961 charter omitted the article quoted above which dealt extensively with the office's custodial functions vis-à-vis the students. The dean's rank was the same as under the UCAA charter, and he was in charge of all affairs related to student services and activities, even if the clear disciplinary supervision had come to an end with the great expansion of enrollment.

Academic Freedom and University Autonomy

The severe restrictions on civil rights which existed in Ethiopia were bound to interfere with accepted conventions relating to academic freedom and university autonomy. Therefore, it seems appropriate to outline these concepts here. In the modern world there are strong associations regarding these issues even when they are not spelled out in charters or constitutions or have not been

defined in courts of law.²⁴ Academic freedom is believed essential for teaching, learning, and research. It was formulated in state controlled universities in nineteenth-century Germany as *Lehrfreiheit*, the privilege of the teacher, and *Lernfreiheit*, the privilege of the student and researcher, conveying the idea that teachers and students ought to be free to teach and learn what and how they wish. The concepts have been greatly broadened in this century. According to Ashby, "In Britain and the United States it would be considered an infringement of academic freedom 'for a university to impose any censorship on the utterances of any member of its staff on any subject, whether it lies within his field of expertise or not, whether or not it was uttered in the classroom.'" It is not uncommon to find safeguards in university constitutions to the effect that "students may not be excluded, or suffer any disability, on account of religious or political opinions, or colour, sex or title."²⁵

University autonomy, or self-government, is much more ambiguous than academic freedom. Most universities depend on governments for their finances. In underdeveloped countries it is of vital importance that scarce resources for university education be spent on fields considered the most necessary for national development. African governments therefore sought to have secure representation on the highest board or council of the university. When nonmembers of the university community are in the majority in the body where authority lies in order for the concept of university autonomy to be promoted, it is essential that the nonacademic members should "identify themselves with the university." It is essential, too, that all academic decisions should be delegated to the academics themselves, who must always be regarded as members of a society, not employees.²⁶

Considering that HSIU's board of governors had a majority of government members and that all members except one were appointed by the emperor, one may very well ask how the nature of the group affected the autonomy of the university. The governing bodies of the English-speaking African universities whose constitutions are discussed by Ashby all seem to have a broader composition than the Ethiopian. They also have elected fewer members appointed by their state government, and they have members elected by the academic staff, which was expressly excluded in the HSIU charter.²⁷ The University of Utah team had advised that the charter should guarantee three conditions recognized by leading universities throughout the world to be requisite to high academic standards, such as "freedom from political, economic, social, religious or other pressures or conditions intrical to the integrity and academic prestige of a university."²⁸

This recommendation was not followed. The HSIU charter did not guarantee academic freedom or autonomy in the university. The strong, unwritten conventions developed over centuries of university history in Europe and North America are not as easily exported as their written conventions. Nevertheless,

F. Trudeau, who was one of the Canadian Jesuit staff members of UCAA, wrote in his dissertation "Higher Education in Ethiopia" that the board of governors of UCAA "kept its total independence from any serious political pressure".¹⁸ The board was very active holding 10 meetings in seven years although the charter required a minimum of two annually, and it made all major policy decisions about budgets, personnel and the academic program. The board seems always to have appointed the new staff and administrative members proposed by the president. The Jesuit administration did not find it seems, the strong position of the government-dominated board problematic or unacceptable. They were foreigners dedicated to serve the Ethiopian nation and Hailo Selassie, and being the first to start building up the educational program their field of decision making was vast compared to what it would have been in a university in their home country. That Ethiopians decided some at all in their own university must have seemed reasonable. The fact that they were foreigners must have enhanced the Jesuit's acceptance of being employed. The academic staff and administration was Iboan dominated in the 1940s and there was little opposition to authoritarian structures. There was also the unquestioned dedication of Hailo Selassie, the chancellor, to promoting the well being of what he considered his institution.

Trudeau claims that academic freedom was not an issue during Ethiopia's first years of higher education.¹⁹ Teachers acted in accordance with signed contracts requiring abstinence from religious proselytization and political activism. Trudeau could not make up his mind whether academic freedom existed although his dissertation implies that it did.²⁰ The practice continued of requiring foreign teachers to sign a contract which included a passage saying that religious and political activities were forbidden or prohibited.²¹ Ashby explains how academic freedom is in danger in countries which do not permit freedom of speech and publication to its citizens and how the consequence is a handicapped university.²² Writing about Hailo in the 1960s Ashby asserted that "under the present emperor's benevolent regime the university enjoys a secure autonomy but autonomy and academic freedom depend entirely upon conventions recognized by the emperor". Hailo Selassie's image ruined foreigners, and it was natural for Ashby not to point out the severe restrictions on civil rights which existed under the repressive institutions which had already caused and were to cause conflicts and problems within the university. These problems were to affect the autonomy of the university possibly as much as the extensive foreign influences.

Foreign Influences Staff Composition Pressures

No Ethiopians were on the academic staff of UCAA during its first few years (1931-1933). Subsequently, their numbers increased rapidly, and by the

opening of HSIU in 1961, they constituted 25 percent of the academic staff.³³ Ten years later Ethiopians accounted for almost 50 percent of the staff (242 out of 520).³⁴ To a large extent, foreign academics came from Western Europe and the United States, but also from India and Southern and Eastern Europe. In 1969, 35 percent of expatriate staff was from the United States, 22 percent were from Great Britain, and 10 percent from Sweden.³⁵ By 1970 no Ethiopian had attained the rank of professor, but 11 associate and 24 assistant professors were nationals. For obvious reasons Ethioptization of the academic staff was a determined objective of university policy. Financial reasons were compelling. It was three times more expensive to employ a foreigner than an Ethiopian at HSIU.

Just as Ethiopian history is unique on the African continent, so is that of HSIU. It was founded on national initiative and without strong influence from educational systems of either Great Britain or France, the main exporters to Africa of patterns of higher education. HSIU was thus not committed to any particular foreign culture or system of education, as was common in former colonies. Yet, the university could not escape curricula which reflected the viewpoints and nationality of the founding teachers. The liberal arts program in UCAA, for example, was highly colored by the Jesuitical preference for ancient and medieval philosophy.³⁶ Curricular choices were affected by which nation financially supported which unit of the university. The government's scarce resources and the immensity and urgency of the task precluded designing curricula which adequately responded to Ethiopian needs. An advisory report to the HSIU board of governors in 1969 stated that "unfortunately, the Ethiopian national university has inherited nearly all its academic programs either from other eras or from other lands—or both."³⁷

There was, however, some measure of Ethioptization of the curricula. The Institute of Ethiopian Studies, with its museum and library, was a great asset to the university and provided material for BA research essays. The first course in Ethiopian history was introduced in 1960-1961, and the following year it was given an adequate place in the curriculum.³⁸ Ethiopian geography was competently taught, the Faculty of Law made considerable progress in the codification and teaching of Ethiopian law, and programs in all units within the university attempted to adapt to the pressing needs of the Ethiopian environment.

Obvious obstacles existed in the development of adequate national teaching programs. University teachers were hired primarily to teach, and resources for research were extremely scarce.³⁹ There were also no postgraduate programs, which seriously impeded Ethiopian research. National staff who had advanced within the university had been abroad for postgraduate training, which meant limited opportunity to collect Ethiopian research material. An Ethiopian staff member in 1963 told students a "desperate need" existed for "research to

provide local material and to relate education to experience and practice."⁴⁰ The relationship among foreign staff members, financial aid to the university, and the educational program was not lost on Ethiopian students. As the United States increasingly was "subsidizing" the university, some students felt that Washington demanded Americanized curricula. But other countries contributed as well, and since their influence also sought influence, it seemed to become a matter of competition irrespective of the needs of the country.⁴¹ It was not only students who felt the burden of dependence when it came to curriculum development.

When UCIA was to start secondary school teacher-training in 1955 a cost-sharing agreement was signed between the college and a U.S. Operation Mission to Ethiopia (USOM, later AED).⁴² Ethiopians found the USOM adviser difficult to work with, feeling that he was trying to impose inappropriate concepts, and they dispensed with the financial support and the mission. They continued to depend on inadequate national resources until USAID funded a contract with the University of Utah which supplied HSIU with teachers and provided training opportunities for Ethiopian staff in the United States.⁴³ A conspicuous feature of the Faculty of Education, however, was its inability to respond adequately to the need for training secondary school teachers.⁴⁴ For a number of years in the 1960s less than 21 percent graduated with a degree in secondary teaching.⁴⁵ The status of the profession was so low that the Faculty of Education often got the students who failed in other courses, whereas it should have received a substantial segment of the best students. The faculty's best source of recruitment was the Laboratory School, which provided twelfth grade education and board to students from the provinces. The school's existence was threatened from time to time because of scarce resources.

University education in Ethiopia was established with very modest means compared to the universities, for example, in Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, where capital expenditures on large, beautiful campuses were several times higher than in Ethiopia.⁴⁶ That external financial aid was predominantly involved in the development of HSIU has already been indicated in the diversity of its sources. The University of Utah team recommended that the U.S. government give financial aid "commensurate with the importance of Ethiopia in world affairs and the unique opportunity the high educational endeavor provides."⁴⁷ U.S. aid indeed played an extensive and crucial role in shaping developments, and a few examples must suffice. The Agricultural College in Addis Ababa received E £17 million from 1964-1981 from U.S. sources. In 1969 the United States donated the J. F. Kennedy Memorial Library at a cost of E £3 million. A large number of staff salaries were paid from various U.S. sources, which in 1967-1970 contributed almost half the expatriate positions, 77 out of 165.⁴⁸

Through the 1960s approximately 20 foreign governments and agencies

supported HSIU. Construction expenditures on all campuses from 1964-1969 amounted to E \$15.5 million, of which \$15 million was external aid.

In the late 1960s government appropriation for the university was around E \$12 million, roughly 2.5 percent of the national budget. From 1950 until the founding of HSIU, enrollment expanded quickly, from around 70 to more than 1,000 students. The second decade saw a five-fold increase, and the financial position of the university became increasingly difficult. Government appropriations for operating expenses increased only 100 percent, which meant that twice as much had been spent on each student in 1962 as compared to 1969.⁴⁹ Tables 4 and 5 indicate these sizable jumps in enrollment.⁵⁰

Table 4. University Enrollment

Academic year (Autumn)	University College	Agriculture	HSIU	Extension
1950	71			
1953	130	14		
1957	270	94		
1961	948	204		
1962			1041	1457
1963			2256	1835
1968			3370	2261
1969			4636	2221
1971			4978	2784
1973			6442	3447

Table 5. Student Enrollment as Distributed among Colleges, Faculties, and Schools of HSIU

	1966-1969	1969-1970
Agriculture	305	315
Arts	475	320
Business Adm.	410	435
Education	985	1140
Law	155	180
Medicine	100	120
Public Health	170	200
Sciences	395	445
Social Work	70	80
Technology	365	440
Theology	30	35
Total	3460	3960

Affiliation

The unfortunate threat of failure which characterized student life in the Ethiopian school system was also acute at the university level, where approximately 40 percent of the students failed to graduate.⁵¹ Into the early 1960s about 22 percent of the students dropped out during their first year,⁵² by the end of the decade roughly 30 percent failed to continue their studies.⁵³ In 1966 an advisory committee wrote "We declare that the most urgent single educational problem in the University is to reduce the very heavy student wastage. We believe that with little or no increase in intake of students, the production of graduates can be doubled if, for the next five years the resources of the university are concentrated on reducing academic failure. A 'drop-out' is not only an unfinished product - he is also a potentially resentful and un-cooperative citizen. The wastage of human and fiscal resources is tragic."⁵⁴ Later reports confirmed these sentiments.⁵⁵ The rise in attrition was seen in relation to several factors, but especially the sharp increase in student intake, with more and more students from weaker secondary schools. Foreign advisers believed that a pause in enrollment expansion was necessary, but with the growth in secondary school enrollment this was not considered to be politically possible.

Poor knowledge of English, the language of instruction, was also pointed to as a cause of failure. Investigations of students who had passed the ESLC and entered the university revealed that their English reading ability compared very unfavorably with that of tenth grade students in the United States.⁵⁶ Another test showed that the reading ability of HSU students equaled that of a U.S. grade 7-8 student, while the textbooks used in Ethiopia were U.S. university level.⁵⁷ English reading ability was found to be an important factor in general academic success at HSU,⁵⁸ as were living conditions.⁵⁹

Living Conditions of University Students

Until 1962 students had privileged living conditions. All held government scholarships that included room, board, tuition, textbooks, uniforms, medical care, and laundry and other housekeeping services.⁶⁰ Dr. Abraham Demoz has written that in his days at UCAA (1952-1956, conditions were "princely" compared to 1966.⁶¹ There were those who questioned what national purpose was served by "coddling" students.⁶² Ethiopia's shortage of educational and research resources and the conspicuous poverty surrounding the institutions of higher learning certainly called for moderation in expenditures for students. In 1962 the university closed the dormitories at UCAA, although the boarding services were continued in the smaller building, agriculture, and public health colleges.

Housing Off Campus

After abolition of the university boarding system in 1962 students received a monthly stipend of E 550 to spend on food and lodging in rented quarters somewhere in town. Questions about how this affected the lives of students were increasingly raised by university officials as well as students.⁶³ During the long vacation of 1965 a special university committee of 20 students and teachers worked five weeks to investigate and document the situation.⁶⁴ The faculty council passed a resolution on student housing in October, acknowledging that it had caused acute problems ever since 1963.⁶⁵ The faculty council's Student Affairs Committee (SAC) worked extensively on the issue. Its chairman, James Paul, Dean of the Faculty of Law, seems to have been especially active, writing long and poignant reports to focus the university's attention on the matter. Photographic evidence was studied at SAC meetings.⁶⁶ Objections to existing conditions stressed that student housing was "wholly unsatisfactory," "awful," "deplorable," "old and dilapidated," and often lacked electricity, adequate toilet and sanitary facilities, and privacy for study.⁶⁷ Rooms frequently were rented in "slum type areas," near "bars and brothels" not out of choice but financial necessity. These conditions led to health as well as moral problems. There were high incidences of bronchitis, pneumonia, intestinal and stomach disorders, and venereal diseases.

Another problem was that living quarters were a considerable distance from the university, making it very difficult for students to participate in activities and use the library in the evening. To pay for transportation was out of the question, and many streets were considered unsafe at night. It was strongly felt by SAC, students, and university officials that unless adequate facilities were provided, students would never be able to benefit fully from their university years. The damage to HSIU's international reputation and convincing economic arguments were used to put pressure on the government to build student hostels on or near the campus.⁶⁸

In the already inflated housing market in Addis Ababa, where common people were totally dependent on the dubious mercy of landlords, rents were increasing, the stipend was not enough and housing conditions for large numbers of students continued to deteriorate. NUEUS the National Union of Ethiopian University Students announced plans to build a small student hostel with money raised from local and international sources.⁶⁹ At approximately the same time spring 1966 students in the Faculty of Law started a self-help housing project.⁷⁰ The NLFLS hostel never materialized because students failed to raise their share of the funds, but the law student hostel was finished in 1969.⁷¹

The demand for campus housing was great, but it is important to stress that students did not seem in any way to be in the forefront of the pressure group.

They knew only too well that their housing conditions were no worse but rather better than those of the average Ethiopian. Pressure came mostly from well-meaning foreign and Ethiopian staff members, who compared conditions with those in the United States and other western countries. The 1962 decision to suspend the boarding system was never formally reconsidered by the board of governors, but little by little, from 1965, students started moving back into the campuses. President Kassa seems to have taken personal responsibility for this development in response to faculty demands.⁷²

Housing on Campus

Complaints also were raised about the poor campus accommodations.⁷³ The university administration insisted for financial reasons, that students move into hostels, the objective being to replace the cash stipend with free housing facilities and meal cards to the university cafeteria.⁷⁴ The shortage of hostel space meant that students had to be crammed into dormitories in bunk beds, and when lounges were turned into dormitories, recreational facilities became almost nonexistent.⁷⁵

In 1967, four temporary prefabricated houses (90' x 20') were erected on the Sidist Kilo campus, and concerned faculty members prevented them from being put up on the sports fields.⁷⁶

The overcrowding is illustrated by the fact that 31 female students were put in double-deckers in a lounge estimated to have living space for 20 students. The SAC recommendation of a minimum of two square meters of living space for each student is another indication of the poor quality of student hostels.⁷⁷ The provision of a table, chair and cupboard to each student became an object of great concern for SAC, but there was no room for them.⁷⁸

The toilet facilities were often out of order, and water was either lacking or flowed in corridors. Shortage of water for showers or washbasins was chronic. Medical students refused to attend classes for several weeks in early 1967 because of the living conditions. They demanded larger stipends and freedom to eat and live where they liked but they returned to classes when given food and housing at the Building College, which had permanent and relatively good facilities, also the case at the Agricultural College in Almasya.⁷⁹

Hostels in 1967 had "capacity" to accommodate first and second year students, but since many passed up the opportunity, some third and fourth year students were offered the beds.⁸⁰ In February 1968, NUEUS organized a study seminar, and improvement of student living conditions was the main item on the agenda.⁸¹ Papers characterized conditions as "repugnant" and "un speakable."⁸² It is interesting to see how administration officials and SAC members placed the initiative of returning to hostel accommodations on each other.⁸³ For people who had fought for this change, it must have been disappointing.

to realize that most students considered the facilities far inferior to those they had rented off campus. A SAC report described the crowded hostel conditions as "conducive to the spread of disease but not to sleep." The university was in fact "weeding out the needy from the non-needy, by providing facilities so poor that only those with no alternative will live in them."⁸⁴ Those who had pressed for the hostels had not foreseen that the university would follow their advice without attention to the equally strong admonition that the change had to be for the better, not for the worse.

In autumn 1968, 1,792 students were housed on the Theological, Sjödals, and Årat Kilo campuses yet according to the dean of students no permanent, decent living quarters had been built for students since the mid-1950s. The Sjödal Kilo campus especially, which housed around 1,000 students, was described as "distressingly overcrowded" and up to 64 students lived in a single dormitory room. The situation on the other two campuses was "tolerable." The building of a large recreational lounge on the Sjödal Kilo campus, considered an urgent necessity for years, was given top priority in 1969. Students and staff converted the former police stables into a lounge with money raised among teachers and administrative members of the university.⁸⁵ Living conditions for students, however, remained the same, and the overcrowding was apparent to anyone walking around the main campus. In the women's quarter students lived in 4' x 4' cubicles with four bunk beds in each, separated by half walls and curtained off from the "corridor." Nevertheless, the women made the most of a difficult situation, and against all odds the impression was pleasant, which could not be said of the men's quarter. In 1967 contracts were signed with a U.S. construction firm in Ohio to build permanent dormitories for more than 2,000 students, four students to a room.⁸⁶ These structures were completed in 1974.

Food

Student publications from time to time offered desperate complaints about the quality of cafeteria food, which deteriorated considerably after the suspension of the boarding system.⁸⁷ It seems obvious that cafeteria quality largely depended on the number of students served, if expenditure per student was the same for all cafeterias. The main campus cafeteria was the worst, serving roughly twice as many students as the next worst, at Årat Kilo. The services and food quality at the smaller colleges of Building and Agriculture always seem to have been more satisfactory.⁸⁸ Management of a cafeteria serving 2,000 students required skill and training of a standard the university was not prepared to support. Expenditure per student per month, food and personal services included, remained fairly static, £ 30 in the early 1960s and £ 31 at the end of the decade, of which £ 27 was the cost of food.⁸⁹

Since the price index between 1963 and 1970 rose from 99 to 114 points, the quality of food undoubtedly deteriorated.¹¹ Dean of Students Tebuhne Wasse expressed considerable concern about the problem. He noted that not a single person on the main campus had any kind of training regarding nutrition or managing a cafeteria for mass feeding, and he stressed how food affected students' physical and mental well-being and the level of output.¹² A *New and Views* editorial in December 1962 'Belly Rumble'¹³ stated that students felt they were underfed and undernourished, that the services were slow and inefficient, that the time-consuming queues for food were unbearable, and that cleanliness in the cafeteria left much to be desired. At this time the Run Hotel ran the cafeteria and according to students it was attempting to "make money out of our poor allowances".¹⁴ One solution attempted several times in the 1960s was for elected student committees to take over management of the cafeteria.¹⁵ For a while this would prove satisfactory until money and energies were exhausted, things became as bad as before, and the university administration would take over.¹⁶ The 1967 academic year opened with a riot in the main campus cafeteria.¹⁷ Fifteen hundred had to be fed and there were only 38 trays, 1400 forks, 400 spoons and 1000 chairs.¹⁸ The two boilers were not working so no tea was served, and the amount of laying was insufficient. Students planned a strike, which was averted by speedy official intervention. Some additional equipment was ordered by airfreight, and Woldeyohannes Yeshi, the assistant dean of students, announced that students were in fact only being served a quarter portion of loroys and would be served more.¹⁹ During 1968 the university spent £ \$175 000 to improve lodging, food and health facilities for students, urged in on by a special committee set up to study these aspects of student life.²⁰

In connection with student services, it should be noted that the university administration was clearly overstaffed. At the end of the 1960s there were 1,500 nonacademic employees one for every three students in Addis Ababa.²¹ Uncertainty, inefficiency, and irresponsibility were considerable. Repair often became a focus of student resentment and apparent administrative indifference sharpened the increasingly negative attitudes. The dean of students handled complaints but was not a member of the inner core of the administration. He had to refer his requests and demands to the student business affairs branch, the budget and personnel of which he had no means of controlling.²² As this department had no direct contact with student problems, no urgency was felt. "It is impossible to explain to students why there is no water in the toilet rooms or why repairs to the toilet rooms that are blocked are not made soon," wrote Dean Giles Pinn to high administrative officials in 1967.²³

Responsibility for housing and food was shared on an unclarified cooperative basis between the dean of students' office and that of student business affairs, which SAC felt involved additional red tape and wasted time. Dean Tebuhne

Wagw, in his report to the president, cited examples of housing assignments being unsuccessfully delayed at the opening of academic year 1966-1967, thereby creating uncertainty and temporary arrangements for days, weeks, and months. In 1967 students arrived as scheduled on September 19. The offices of dean of students and student business affairs were to hand out identity cards, cafeteria tickets, and housing assignments. In the morning this went as scheduled, but in the afternoon members of the business affairs office did not turn up, and the dean of students learned that they had been told to issue no more housing or meal tickets for seven days. Students did not know where to go, and freshmen from the provinces did not know where to stay or eat for a week. "Thus the year was started at its beginning...Why this unnecessary inefficiency? Who benefits from money saved when meal tickets are not issued on time?" If problems were to be solved before they reached crisis proportions, SAC and the dean of students asked that the personnel and budget of student business affairs be placed under the jurisdiction of the dean of students.¹⁰⁴

Problems of Poverty

Housing and cafeteria conditions reflected the difficulties involved in placing an expensive educational institution in a poor society. There was not enough money for instructional material. No university bookshop existed, a fact which, apart from political circumstances, also indicated that there was no market for the sale of books among students. Textbooks were available from the university or the library. When many students had to share a few books, which they were told by the teachers were important, the temptation to take them or tear out the pages was often overwhelming, causing extreme irritation among librarians and students. All aspects of library service were hampered by shortages of everything, from books to tables and chairs. The University Library opened on the main campus in 1969 was a tremendous improvement.

The end of the boarding system in 1962 brought more clearly into the open the differences in students' social background. The same living conditions for all had promoted equality among members of an intellectual elite, and provision of uniforms and even pocket money also had helped enormously. When the E. \$30 stipend was given to students to feed for themselves in the inflated Addis Ababa housing market, it became apparent who did and did not have extra resources. When the provision of uniform stopped around the mid-1960s, the difference became even more apparent. "The coarse shoes, the dirty shabby coat (the only one he has), and khaki trousers that students put on for week after week without change, are striking examples of poverty that is reigning among them."¹⁰⁵ Lack of decent clothing must have humiliated many students.

This development can be said to have made students more a part of the larger society. The concept of the student as a privileged individual set apart

gradually broke down. The worn clothing and apparent lack of funds reduced the envy which earlier conditions had fostered.¹⁰⁴ No longer isolated on campus, students became more a part of the community for example, joining their neighbors in traditional feasts, which were particularly appreciated. No better off than the mass of Ethiopians, most students could still afford the annual freshman party, which also brought out social differences between the "haves" and "have nots", for many, to buy the E \$10 ticket would mean virtual starvation for weeks. In later years the price was reduced to E \$6.¹⁰⁵ There was worry over expenses for notebooks, haircuts, soap, and shoe polish.¹⁰⁶ Above all, there was concern about the long vacations, especially after the transportation stipend ceased. "Some of us think that a period during which we are going to be burdens to our already poor parents or relatives is approaching. As a result we appear to some Ethiopians to be abnormal human beings. It surprises them that we should be wishing we had no vacation instead of looking forward to the day when we will be among parents and relatives and enjoy the vacation with them."¹⁰⁷

All evidence points to deterioration in the quality of student life in Addis Ababa over a relatively short period especially from 1961 to 1970. A planning report to the president of HSL in 1970 exposed the "large and growing gap" between enrollment and budget appropriation. "Now this appropriation per student has reached rock bottom...there is not enough money to maintain the physical plant there is not enough money to provide proper housing and food for students."¹⁰⁸

In 1963, faculty members attempted to relieve the problems by establishing a loan fund but the money was soon exhausted. A university loan fund, administered from the Office of the Treasurer, was established, but it was very small.¹⁰⁹ The university administration also undertook the difficult task of obtaining vacation jobs for students.¹¹⁰ Beginning in spring 1963 notices concerning employment for students were sent out to heads of public and private organizations in the name of President Kassa. Most students depended entirely upon the university to get employment. From 1966 onward ten schools in Addis Ababa were kept open during the summer by the Ministry of Education to create vacation jobs for students. About 1,000 were employed, earning an average of E \$3.17 for two months. In 1967 students announced they would take any job, including work in hotels, garages, and "other jobs which used to be looked down on."¹¹¹

The poverty of the majority of students must have to an immeasurable extent, affected the student-teacher relationship especially as a wide gap already existed in linguistic and cultural background. Most teachers were expatriates and spoke English as the mother tongue. This must have created frustration and a sense of inferiority among students whose English was far from fluent. Both teachers and students felt and often expressed dissatisfaction with their re-

leadership. One incident in connection with summer employment illustrates student feelings. Without explanation or approval, an expatriate staff member had all students seeking employment fill out questionnaire forms, which were then extremely confidential in Ethiopia. Students' divergent reactions were expressed in two articles in *Anti-Body*: "For Vacation Employment or for Doctoral Thesis" and "An Impolite Approach."¹¹³ Students clearly saw the questionnaire as an attempt to exploit poverty and as unrelated to their getting a job. They believed that responses to questions on family trouble, financial problems, and love problems could indicate little or nothing about work competency. Should "the unfortunate poor student be compelled to tell his personal secrets in an exchange for a vacation job?" The student who had exposed his "hard and uncomfortable secrets" would always suffer "from the frequent haunt of the idea that he answered questions which he would never do if he were not poor." One student attacked the staff member's sample selection as being based on the view that "psychological diseases" were to be found only among the poor, that is, those who were compelled to seek employment. "He is completely wrong and even has committed a crime—a crime to think that some human beings are basically lower than some others."

Efforts to alleviate the problem were not helped by the unknown number of students who drew stipends without actually being needy.¹¹⁴ When, in 1967, students were to receive meal cards, a special seal had to be attached to identity cards because students who could afford to eat elsewhere sold their cards to outsiders. In 1968 the university decisively screened out the nonneedy from the stipend system, and a committee report listed an astonishing number of appeals cases in which students had blatantly. It was also known that the stipend system was abused, yet it was impossible for SAC to get any help whatsoever from USLAA the University Students Union of Addis Ababa, whose leaders consistently argued that the union was not an agent for the und twenty. Many students, however, found it quite reasonable that the nonneedy be excluded from the stipend in order to provide more for the poor and they believed the union should comprise USLAA leaders mainly opposed screening because of the untrustworthiness of the information on which decisions were to be based because it could create divisions within the student body and because it could be used to get rid of politically active students.

Summary

This chapter has documented that the quality of student life in Addis Ababa deteriorated noticeably from 1962 to 1969. Student activism and radicalism also increased sharply. In the late 1960s it was widely accepted among university teachers that these two facts were correlated. This may have been true at least to the extent that the poor quality of life made students in general more

prepared to support their activist fellows than if living conditions had been more favorable.

Notes

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16. Charter for HSIU, Article 21
17. Ibid., Article 23.
18. *N & V* 8.2.1962 2; and *N & V* 24.5.1962 3.
19. *HSIU Bulletin* 29.3.1962.
20. Charter for HSIU, Article 15.
21. Ibid.
22. Charter for UCAA 1954, Article 28
23. Trudeau 1964 84-85; and Ashby 1966 153.
24. This section is particularly indebted to the chapter on autonomy and academic freedom in Ashby 1966, 290-353, especially pp. 291, 296.
25. Ibid., p. 296.
26. HSIU Charter 1961, Article 5.
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28. Trudeau 1964:55.
29. Ibid., p. 93
30. Ibid., pp. 112, 170.
31. HSIU *Information for Foreign Staff*, 1966 17; 1971:7.
32. Ashby 1966:293, 396. Ashby gave Spain (under Franco), Ghana (in the last years of Nkrumah), Northern Rhodesia, and South Africa as examples.
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43 N & V 23 1 1963:3, "Say it With Flowers," by Abebe, a staff member.
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46 Summerville 1970:138.
47 *Presidental Committee on Planning, Reorganization and Consolidation of Academic Programs of the University Appendix D, Annual Report of the Development Committee to the Faculty Council December 1963*, pp 11-11.
48 Summerville 1970:64
49 Tadesse 1964:94
50 University of Utah report, as quoted in Ref., p. 105.
51 Summerville 1970:137, 144, 146, Table 15
52 Ref., pp 34, 123, 126, Chart 6
53 The tables are adopted from Summerville 1970:37, 104 and Taube 1976:27. In Table 4, the total for HSU from 1963 includes students on Ethiopian University Service, but in Table 5 it does not. The numbers are more indicative than accurate. Unfortunately I do not have enrollment for the Building and Engineering Colleges before the establishment of HSU but it was small. The number of graduates from the Building College before its integration into HSU was 33, in Engineering, 43 (University Graduate, 1937-1964 Register's Office, July 10, 1964). The College of Public Health did not have a degree program during its first years of operation.
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1:3 Ethnic and Socioeconomic Background of University Students

Lack of research and official statistics makes it difficult to define precisely the ethnic composition and social background of the UCAA and HSIU student body. The discussion below is derived from several sources. Donald Levine conducted an extensive study of the values and socioeconomic characteristics of 700 secondary school and college students in 1959.¹ R. Giel and J.N. Van Luijk surveyed 1,066 freshmen in 1967 to see how such factors as social background, mental health, and illness prior to entering university related to academic performance.² Their conclusions were mostly based on questionnaires. There is also a typed "Report on Research on the Social Situation of HSIU Students," work carried out in 1969-1970 by the Sociology Students Association in cooperation with a teacher, S. Faauewang, of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, HSIU. This survey was based on a total of 537 questionnaires filled out mostly by freshmen.³ I made an attempt to investigate the social conditions of students especially related to their educational situation prior to university entrance. My sample was taken from third year students in the Faculty of Education's regular degree course.⁴

Another source of information about ethnic and social background was the cards in the university registrar's office. In addition to the student's academic performance these gave information about admittance to the university, date and place of birth, and father's occupation. UCAA cards also noted race, religion, and number of children alive and dead in the family, but by the time HSIU opened, it was illegal to ask a person's ethnic origin. Questionnaires on social background tried to sidestep the restriction by asking for first language spoken. For some reason, the question about family size also disappeared from HSIU cards. I made a random sample of every fifth student card in the "dead

filet" of the Faculty of Arts (students who had graduated, dropped out, or withdrawn from UCAA or HSIU)⁵

Ethnic Affiliation

Ethnic identification in Ethiopia is strong enough to be a significant social and political factor. As used here, "ethnic group" denotes a people whose major identifying characteristic is a common language. About 80 languages are used in Ethiopia, only a handful of which may be called "major." In the 1960s no official statistics existed on the numerical strength of each ethnic group in Ethiopia, mainly owing to the lack of a census and Haile Selassie's policy of unity above all. Among the many studies which have sought to enumerate the users of the various languages, the latest and most comprehensive is *Language in Ethiopia* by Berde et al. They estimate that Amharic the official language and the most commonly learned second language throughout the country was spoken in 1970 by approximately 30 percent of the population Tigrinya by about 14 percent. Previously, native Amharic speakers were estimated to be a considerably smaller group.⁶

The Amhara and Tigray peoples have played a dominant role in Ethiopia's history. The forerunner of the Ethiopian state, the northern Kingdom of Axum is associated with the Tigray; the Amhara later emerged to lead the expansion of the state over vast territories and many other peoples. The Amhara, the ruling ethnic group constitute about one-third of the total population in the 1950s and 1960s more than half the university students were Amhara. The Tigray were also overrepresented in the university compared to their proportion of the total population.⁷ Until recently the Oromo (also called Galla) were considered the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia, estimated at 40 percent of the population.⁸ The latest survey, however, puts the figure at 2 percent and states they are less numerous than the Amhara. The Oromo were underrepresented in the university accounting for about 10 percent of the students. A large number of other ethnic groups comprise almost 10 percent of the total population⁹—with the exception of the Gurage and the Harari, they were underrepresented or were not present at all at the university.

Birthplace of Students

In 1951-1961, half the students came from one of the three provinces with the largest urban populations in the country, Shoa, Hararge, and Eritrea. Almost 30 percent came from Shoa, the central province in which Addis Ababa is situated. These percentages increased in the 1960s,¹⁰ during which time almost 15 percent came from one of the three "urban" provinces, almost 50 percent from Shoa. Of the 2¹ percent who passed the FSLC between 1963

and 1963, almost 90 percent came from the provinces of Shoa, Eritrea, and Hararge.¹³ In their large urban populations a greater number of people were able to keep their children in school. In addition urban life attracts the better educated teachers. Addis Ababa, for example, had the most ESLC passes, more than 50 percent of the total.

Attendance at secondary school in Addis Ababa, Asmara, Maser or Dire Dawa did not necessarily mean that town was the student's birthplace or home. Determination, perseverance, and perhaps help from a distant, successful relative could bring enterprising young people from the countryside. In Ethiopia the extended family plays a larger role than it does in Europe. Some scholarships also existed, as at General Weygand School, a secondary boarding school in Addis Ababa which had successful students from many provinces.

The two successive freshman surveys of 1967 and 1970 revealed that every fifth student was born in Addis Ababa, those born in provincial capitals accounted for 14 percent in 1967 and 21.7 percent in 1970.¹⁴ In the latter survey around 36 percent said they were born in a "small town," 18 percent claimed they came from a "village" and about 3 percent said they came from an "isolated area." Even if the majority of these students had originated from a roadside town, it seems safe to estimate that at least 20 percent came from strictly rural areas. It is however significant to stress that small towns and even most provincial capitals were essentially rural and had expanded rapidly only during the last decade. Thus one might also claim that perhaps the majority of the student body had intimate connections with rural Ethiopia.

The urban population of Ethiopia comprised 9 to 16 percent of the total depending upon which definition of a town is chosen.¹⁵ It is only to be expected that most of the student body perhaps by far derived from this section of the population, especially when one considers that health and educational facilities were more available in the large urban areas. It is also not surprising that by far the majority of the students increasingly came from the provinces with the larger urban populations first and most important Shoa, then Eritrea and Harerge. In addition Shoa is the country's most populous province, and the three provinces together have some 35-40 percent of the total population.¹⁶ It is noteworthy that about 23 percent of the students came from provinces other than the big three and that at least 20 percent came from strictly rural areas. The implication is that a considerable number reached the university through adversity and perseverance in the face of hardships and suffering.

Students' Socioeconomic Background

How very helpful it would be to have detailed information about landownership, family income, and father's profession or educational attainment! The difficulty is illustrated by the fact that the university itself, despite its clear

need, failed time and again to obtain such knowledge.¹⁷ In 1969-1970 the Sociology Students Association attempted to survey the socioeconomic background of a large group of students.¹⁸ Long data derived from a questionnaire socioeconomic status was determined according to five categories:

- (1) "very rich and important," the few most prominent families in Ethiopia;
- (2) "rich" people who could be called unusually wealthy;
- (3) "upper middle," the well-to-do who could afford a motor car or a modestly comfortable house;
- (4) "lower middle" people who earned a modest salary or owned land which allowed them a more or less adequate level of consumption; and
- (5) "poor," those at subsistence level or below living "from hand to mouth."

Among the 448 freshmen who entered the university in 1969, 58 percent came from the two lowest groups, 14 percent from the poor category. Two percent came from very rich and 10 percent from rich families, leaving 26.3 percent in the upper middle category (3.5 percent could not be classified). Lacking figures on the socioeconomic stratification of the total population, the report could not judge how the student distribution corresponded to the general population. Relying on estimates on the only figure available per capita income of E.S. \$0 per year, the student survey concluded that "by far the majority of the Ethiopian population belongs to group 3, subsistence level or below, and for the rest the great majority must be counted in group 4, moderately above subsistence."¹⁹

Not unexpectedly, the freshmen survey indicated that the children of the higher income groups had a much better chance than children from the lower income groups of coming through the educational system to the university. The important and perhaps more unexpected conclusion also should be noted. A good portion of the student body actually originated among the lowest socioeconomic group. Less surprising is that about two-thirds came from the two middle strata, by far the most from the lower middle group from what may be classed "average" Ethiopian families.

Another area worth noting is parental literacy. In 1971 literacy in rural areas was estimated at 5 percent in urban areas at 40-50 percent.²⁰ Pausewang's survey in 1970 revealed that the fathers of 73.6 percent and the mothers of 27.4 percent of the students were literate. 37.4 percent of students had illiterate fathers, and 50.2 percent had fathers with no other formal education than church school.

An indication of socioeconomic status may also be gained from information about how students were supported in the university. Since it was considered necessary to give full scholarships to students to further the national policy of equal opportunity for all high school graduates, one may conclude the government considered the economic resources of most people inadequate.²¹ The point should be stressed that, even when resources were available, some parents

were unwilling or reluctant to invest in education for their children.²¹ They could not see the benefit of modern education, and children were an important source of labor in rural Ethiopia.

After 1963 students were given a stipend of up to E \$10 per month only when evidence was produced that they could not pursue their studies without support. For many years court certificates were required to prove poverty, but this method of screening turned out to be an utter failure, the certificate was easily procurable particularly by students from influential families.²² The university consequently supported 98 percent of the students from 1962 until the closure of HSLU in April 1974,²³ a heavy burden on financial resources urgently needed in the educational program.

What proportion of students were capable of financing their own board and lodging while studying? Only crude subjective estimates are available. A long-time Canadian Jesuit member of the faculty estimated in the early 1960s that less than 20 percent could have stayed in college if they had relied on family resources.²⁴ The most common and frequent estimate was that "most students" could not be expected to finance their own board and lodging but that "many students" could afford to do so.²⁵

The only serious justified attempt to screen out nonpoor students from the E \$10 monthly stipend was made in 1967/1968. It was found that only 400 students, or 12 percent of those enrolled, were able to support themselves. Most of these were residents of Addis Ababa who it was presumed could live with their families.²⁶ The 12 percent must be considered a minimum since students vigorously opposed any attempt to exclude their colleagues from the stipend.²⁷

Another indication of actual economic resources would be any extra support students received.²⁸ According to the 1967 freshman survey, 72 percent had no support from their families; 24 percent admitted a "little" support.²⁹ In the 1970 survey, only 32 percent stated they received no financial help at all. Of those receiving help by far the majority got from E \$1,10 per month (63 percent) reportedly received from E \$10-20, 8.6 percent from E \$20-30 and 3.7 percent more than E \$50 per month.³⁰ The drop from 72 to 12 percent of students receiving no family help could indicate a change in the social composition of students between 1967 and 1970 that is proportionately fewer from the lowest social strata. With the acceptably steady rise in the cost of living, the inadequacy of the university stipend was increasingly felt and this might have pushed out some students with the lowest means. Considering however that most assistance amounted to only E \$1-10 a month money needed at home just as originally the drop in percentage need not indicate any such change in composition. The fact should not be disregarded that students' answers might have been unreliable owing to the sensitivity of the question. The stipend issue was the focus of SAU's petition to the time of the 1967 survey by Grol, which might account of the high percentage claiming no support. By 1970

students were certainly alienated from the university establishment and the government's any screening proposal, such as the one which had proved a complete failure a couple of years earlier was out of the question and students might have felt safer to give a more accurate answer in 1970 than in 1967.

Religious Background

Christianity was introduced into Ethiopia in the 4th century, and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church became a prime force in political, cultural, social, and spiritual life. Despite a Muslim population perhaps equal in size, the identity of the Ethiopian nation was nevertheless linked to the Christian church.¹¹ It established and upheld the legitimacy of the Solomonic throne on grounds that were beyond human challenge and the 1913 Constitution confirmed that the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was the state-supported church of the empire.¹² In cultural life it was dominant. Whatever literary, artistic, musical or architectural culture the country has is in to a very great degree due to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.¹³ In the 1960s, the church was a towering feature of the Ethiopian scene,¹⁴ with about 13,500 churches and monasteries and 17,500 priests, deacons, and monks. Religious faith permeated every aspect of national life and gave the ultimate guidelines for behavior. The faith was strongly salvific; man's place in God and the conditions of society were predetermined by God and thus had to be accepted and endured without question.¹⁵ The church was certainly without a social conscience on the national level.¹⁶

It was commonly held that university students, and indeed most educated people, had turned their backs on the church and discarded the articles of faith which permeated their society. Concern was expressed that modern education had created a void which impoverished the spiritual and moral life of young Ethiopians who now 'aced confusion and uncertainty'.¹⁷ A survey of 500 students in 1968 indicated that about 5 percent were Catholic and about 10 percent Protestant which means that at least 9 percent of the students had been in contact with foreign religion. About 7 percent said they were atheists, 6 percent that they were Moslems. More than 70 percent claimed they belonged to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. 20 percent said they did not practice their religion, 38 percent said they did and 42 percent claimed they did so partially.¹⁸ Nevertheless as the work will show students increasingly expressed criticism and rejection of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Conclusion

The students who reached Ethiopian university education were mostly male, predominantly Christian and largely from the Amhara and Tigray ethnic groups, which were overrepresented in the university compared to their numerical

strength in the Ethiopian population. The Modern communities and the Oromo were underrepresented, as were the numerous other ethnic groups. It seems that the ethnic composition of the student body as such played no significant role in the development of student attitudes, except in the case of the Eritrean question. Opposition to the regime, to Amharic and Christian dominance in Ethiopian culture and politics, developed among Amharic and Christian students as well as others. Oromo nationalism as a cause was in an early stage of development.

Through the 1950s and 1960s the proportion of students from urban areas increased until at least 75 percent came from the three provinces with the largest urban populations—Shoa, Eritrea, and Harerge. The number of students from Addis Ababa grew conspicuously around 1970, perhaps about 20 percent were born there, and at least twice as many had attended secondary school in the capital. This predominance of students with an urban background in a rural population revealed the contradiction in the greater society and led to a student predisposition toward change and opposition to the prevailing order.

It was increasingly common for children of the rich and especially the aristocratic families to be sent abroad for university studies, reducing the number of potential students who had the confidence, tradition, and means to provide leadership. Thus, the stage was free for students from the lower strata of Ethiopian society to occupy influential positions. It is also significant that about 20 percent of the students came from strictly rural areas and perhaps a majority had been closely connected with rural Ethiopia before they entered the university; they were thus intimately familiar with the conditions of the people. All these circumstances may have contributed to the fact that conservatism had no determined champions in the university community.

Notes

1. Levine 1959
2. Old and van Luijk, "A Follow-Up," 1970.
3. Paugwawng, "Report on a Research," 1970. 3
4. Referred to as "EFS 1973," that is, Education Faculty Sample 1973.
5. A U.S. university team collecting sources from Africa had been permitted to microfilm student dead files in the Registrar's Office of HSIU. In alphabetical order the cards of 1,448 Faculty of Arts students were microfilmed in May-June 1973. I was permitted to use this material for a random sample of every fifth student, excluding the foreign students. Unfortunately, the sample was not completed as an Ethiopian technician withheld one reel from me, under different pretenses, until she finally conceded that she would not let me complete the sample for various unspecified reasons. She knew of my research topic and probably judged it unwise for her to facilitate my access to information. Indeed under the prevailing political conditions it would have been remarkable if she had reacted differently.

When this material is cited it is referred to as RCS (Registration Card Sample) 1951-1961 and RCS 1961-1970, the former referring to UCAA, the latter to HSIU.

- My sample of 214 registration cards, 81 for UCIA students and 133 for HSU students, is based on 1,064 cards.
6. Bender and others 1976 10-12
 7. Ibid., pp. 15-16
 8. Abraham Denner, "Amharic for Modern Use," 1968 17
 9. Bender and others 1976 15-16
 10. Hess 1970 9-12
 11. For the controversial and speculative discussion on the origin and classification, actually or linguistically, of the Ethiopian ethnic groups, see Ullendorff 1965 31-46 116-35 Greenfield 1965 12-15, and Meafin Wolde Mariam 1972 7-19
 12. RCS, Office of the Registrar HSU, *Admission Report for the Academic Year 1971-72* October 1971 Giel and van Luijk, "A Follow-up," 1970, and Pausewang, "Report on a Research," 1970
 13. Hailu Wolde Mikael, "Government Schools in Ethiopia," 1970 14. The total number of candidates, 1963-1968, who sat for the ESLC was 7,526, 2,039 (27 percent) passed In Addis Ababa 2,609 candidates sat for the examination 1,061 (40.6 percent) passed
 14. Giel and van Luijk, "A Follow-up" 1970 and Pausewang, "Report on a Research," 1970. In the *Admission Report 1971-72*, the percentage of students from Addis Ababa was said to be 40, which means a conspicuous increase in students coming from the capital. However, "came from" in this report probably refers to the location of secondary school from which the students came not birthplace.
 15. Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Abstract 1971* 26, and Meafin Wolde Mariam 1972 189-190, 182, 183.
 16. Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Abstract 1971* 26.
 17. HSU, Student Aid Committee, *Final Report*, 1968 1
 18. Pausewang, "Report on a Research," 1970 4-6
 19. Meafin Wolde Mariam 1972 183
 20. Trudeau 1964 83
 21. Levine 1965 13.
 22. Draft Report for SAC March 21, 1966 1, and HSU Student Aid Committee, *Final Report* 1968 1
 23. Ibid., and Summerskill 1970 132
 24. Trudeau 1964 81
 25. Draft Report for SAC 1966 Summerskill 1970 132, and Memo from the President to the University Community 10.10.1968
 26. HSU Student Aid Committee, *Final Report* 1968 4
 27. See chapter 4.6
 28. Tesfome Wogaw, "Report on Student Support" 1969 11 and Draft Report for SAC 1966 2
 29. Giel and van Luijk, "A Follow-up," 1970 29
 30. Pausewang, "Report on a Research," 1970 Table 22
 31. Greenfield 1969 26
 32. Markakis 1974 276-77
 33. Amefa Sequele and Eshetu Chois 1969 10
 34. Tsihku Shiferaw, "The Social and Political Influence of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church," 1969 24
 35. Girma Awoke, "The Problem of Ideology in Ethiopia and the Educational Implications," 1972 10-12.
 36. Greenfield 1969 26
 37. Girma Awoke, "The Problem of Ideology" 1969 2, *N & V* 30.4.1966 15-16 "Need

for Strong Convictions in the Student Body," by Girma Amare, and Girma Amare, "The Modern Ethiopian Intelligentsia and its Evolution," 1966-1967.12.

38. Paliwang, "Report on a Research," 1970.

1:4 Male and Female: Personalities in Transition

The purpose of this section is to focus on the position of the female university student and on the relationship between male and female students. A few statistical facts and impressions are needed to indicate the unique position of female students in relation to women in general in Ethiopia. It has been estimated that the literacy rate for males in 1965-1966 was 11.6 percent and for women 1.7 percent. In the rural areas, where roughly 90 percent of the population lives, female literacy was estimated at 0.3 percent.¹ In Addis Ababa, which has more than one-third of the country's urban population, literacy for males was estimated in 1967 to be 60.6 percent and for females 25.8 percent.² Needless to say, these facts reflect the depressed status of Ethiopian women.

Although Amhara women, and presumably also women from other ethnic groups, enjoy property and inheritance rights, traditional society holds a low opinion of females.³ Sociologist Donald Levine states "The peasant woman's lot is as hard as that of a slave. In the wealthier families, where domestic drudgery is relieved by servants, she must still be a passive, reserved non-entity. Women are beaten as a matter of course for mistakes in their work or apparent flirtation with other men."⁴ The hardship is drastically reflected in statistics. Adult female mortality is estimated to be higher than male, and female expectation of life at birth is 35 years compared to 37 years for males.⁵ From ages 10 to 80 it is estimated that male expectation of life is consistently five to six years more than for females. Below 15 years there is less than 1 percent more males than females, but 4 percent more at age 15 to 16, and almost twice as many more above age 65. The lower survival probability for women is owing to hard work and childbearing.⁶

The extremely rapid emancipation of a few women to the university stands in stark contrast to most other women in the capital. They could be seen often barefooted carrying a heavy clay pot of water or bent under a load of firewood, or crouching near an open fire in a small, dark smoke-filled kitchen, baking injera. They would wait at a marketplace or in the streets offering a few potatoes, onions, tomatoes or injera for sale their youngest children clinging to them. Girls sold drinks in the numerous drinking houses. Prostitutes sat in doorways in the evening waiting for customers. Women in rags with a child at their breast begged outside the churches. In sum it is no exaggeration to say that change was much greater for female than for male students in the university. Despite the unquestioned superiority of the male sex in traditional society, this idea also caused that girls were not intellectually inferior and should be educated. The increasing enrollment of girls in primary and secondary schools from 1955 to 1970, from 18.6 percent to 31.4 percent and from 0.4 percent to 21 percent respectively certainly reflects this positive attitude and the improved possibilities. Table 6 presents data on female enrollment during that period.

Among the 73 students studying at the University College in 1911-1952, there were no females. The first woman entered in 1921¹ in 1934-1935, there were five² and by 1960 there were 40. Table 6 shows that the percentage of female students attending university rose from about 3 percent to 8 percent from 1944-1950 from 10 to 15%. The percentage is even higher as some foreign women residing in Adis Ababa and studying at the university are included. In 1967-1968, not including the foreign students, the percentage of Ethiopian females was 5.3%. In 1968-1969 the dean of students estimated that European females accounted for 4 percent of the total full time students.³ They lived in separate quarters under special faculty supervision and in the 1950s they had to be in their dormitories by 7 pm. First and second year students were not allowed to read in the library after that hour in concession to parents' reluctance to have both sexes educated together.⁴ In 1960 the Student Council obtained a change in these regulations.⁵

The older generation's suspicion and dislike of the emancipated, Europeanized girl was based on the fear belief that she would threaten the accepted concept that the woman's place was in the home and that she was subordinate to her husband. It was feared that with western education she would become independent.⁶ The educated Ethiopian man's ambivalence toward education for women was reflected in the view that it may be necessary a highly educated girl and in the acknowledged tendency to get women from the countryside, educate them "just enough to let them pass off for schoolgirls and marry them before they are too highly educated to be subservient wives."⁷

The position of women was often deplored in student papers, and it was felt that modern educated men should decide how far up the "egalitarian ladder" they should let women go.⁸ Ambivalence about female education seemed to be

Table 6. Percentage of Female Students Enrolled in Primary School, Academic Secondary School, and HSI University

Academic year	Total student enrollment	No. of female students	Percentage of female students
Primary school			
1955-56	Grades 1-4 government schools	94,724	17,600
1959-60		136,691	32,707
1967-68	Grades 1-6 government and nongovernment schools	452,457	134,370
1970-71		655,427	205,703
Academic secondary schools			
1955-56	Grades 9-12	2,097	277
1959-60		5,273	398
1967-68		26,690	4,883
1970-71		53,236	11,205
HSIU			
1955-56		345	10
1959-60		827	49
1963-64		1,514	93
1967-68		3,368	227
1970-71		4,543	356

Source. Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Abstract 1970 and 1971*, Office of the Registrar, HSIU, *Enrollment Statistics, 1963-1969 and 1970-1971*.

based also on the notion that in fact women were intellectually inferior. "Men being superior should improve women." The educated woman was criticized for her denial of "the superiority of man and his possession of a mind endowed with greater resolution and more extensive power."¹¹

Do they feel that they are not as powerful as they think intellectually? What can it be their proclaiming that they are as intelligent as men? Had they not better give up the battle for intellectual superiority, declare themselves inferior to men and go back to the kitchen?¹²

Women of the University, College of Addis Ababa take courage and resign, for universities are not places for women.

There were some students willing to admit that, when given opportunities women were not inferior to men, but they were not so outspoken as those who demanded that young women prove they were not merely designed for the kitchen.¹³ Some enviously spoke in favor of female education because "it would make her 'a far more charming companion - a pride and enjoyment to her society."¹⁴

Much derogatory and abusive language was used against female students before the mid 1960s, which also reflect the low degree of communication between the sexes. The young women seemed to be considered spectretoes rather than human beings. Extremely uncertain of their new positions, lacking a model of the Ethiopian educated woman, and confronted with opposition and suspicion, the female students often resorted to arrogance. Their object of identification became the western woman, whose outward characteristics they tended to imitate. The result was often a suppression of their own personality and what appeared to be artificial and, to the male students, extremely annoying behavior. "University education unaches women, they just become made-up things."¹⁵ In the eyes of some males, "advancement" to the female students meant being in style, smoking cigarettes, "stronger make-up, shorter and shorter skirts higher and higher heeled shoes, better style of tip-toeing."¹⁶ The female students were strongly criticized in 1963 another phase in the often referred to "battle of the sexes," for receiving front seats when attending speeches, debates, and so forth.¹⁷ "This bunch of maytagans have now taken it for granted that it is their prerogative to sit in front."¹⁸ May I ask what their nationality is if they do not yet know where a woman ranks in the family in traditional Ethiopia? May I know who goes first into a house and procures a better seat the husband or the wife? May I know who eats and sleeps first the husband or the wife?¹⁹

A letter to the editor signed "A Lady" admonished a wife to behave like a "real goodman" instead of "scolding the ladies." And other letters from groups of female students attacked him for being an "advocate of disrespect for ladies."

trying to impede development. We admit we are not so delicate that men are to be reserved for us, but etiquette and society demand it."²² Women were accused of seeking higher education in order to find a husband.²³ When writing to *New and News* they either used a weaker male brain "to compose their contributions or pulled down the standard of the paper by their 'inaptive articles lacking logicity and coherence of ideas,' which were also of 'poor quality' and an example of the 'usual type of womanly flabby answers.' It was even suggested that the girls should not be allowed to say anything through *New and News*.²⁴ However a 1947 editorial in the paper rejoicing in the opening of a student lounge generously included the female students in the activities of the place "They have the responsibility of setting the robes in their correct places, look after the cleanliness of the Lounge and sell some soft drinks. In this way develop the real responsible housewife character."²⁵

Negative and positive attitudes about higher education for women as well as their mental faculties existed side by side in the university and the positive gradually outweighed the negative during the 1940s. It seems that the stage of openly questioning higher education for women was over by the middle of the decade, and interest focused on the way women adjusted to their new roles. Male criticism of and impatience with female students was centered on their passivity, seeming lack of interest in all activities within the university, and their "backward behavior" in such company.²⁶ "Although they are physically present in this campus they are strangers. They are neither active in extra curricular fields nor in the intellectual sphere. They do not have anything to add to the students' activities except boredom and dullness, disinterestedness and passivity."²⁷

Male students became increasingly concerned with the female students' disinterest in politics.²⁸ They believed the lack of consciousness might retard the student movement since females were thought to vote for the conservative candidates in those elections.²⁹ In 1948 female students were attacked for having supported Makonnen Baher the "moderate" candidate for the LSLAA presidency, who narrowly won the election from Tilahun Gizew.³⁰ Female students were entreated to join in the "battle against ignorance and exploitation," to discard their old ideas and values and adjust themselves to the demands of twentieth century Ethiopia. An Ethiopian graduate of a French university commented that the Ethiopian intelligentsia had proved themselves "chicken" in politics partly due to the lack of female backing. He believed that if women had been interested in politics, men would have been less inclined to be inactive, as so men liked to be a coward in the eyes of women.³¹

There was no denial, only regret on the part of the female students that this characterization of their behavior was essentially true.³² According to the women, three circumstances contributed to their inactivity. First, it was difficult to break away from the shy, passive, and reserved behavior expected of girls in traditional Ethiopian society.³³ Second, the girls were not used to make own

peas and did not understand the boys. Quite a few came to the university from girls' schools⁴⁰ Thus the male students' attitudes and behavior, their "discouraging ideas" that women were intellectually inferior, and their habit of ridiculing, giving nicknames to and commenting upon female students were serious obstacles. And those girls who did take part in activities together with boys were certain to earn "bad names" that is to be considered wanton.⁴¹

The lack of male female interaction was acknowledged to be a serious problem within the university and it was a situation which was utterly deplored.⁴² There is no doubt that men students strongly wished their female counterparts to be actively involved in university life. The sight of girls practicing volleyball was noted as "encouraging," and the arrival of a few women in the recreation hall prompted an elected student representative to use words like "social revolution" and to claim that here people in the available occupations were taken from this male world and carried off into her world of delight.⁴³ Female participation in the demonstration against the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia reportedly created "turmoil and strife in the student body."⁴⁴ One Amharic pamphlet distributed during the crisis of April 1964 emphatically states that female students supported student demands.⁴⁵

Despite obvious signs of male acceptance of female participation the relationship between the sexes in the university remained problematic. Male and female students were determined to a large extent by the required norms of traditional society concerning marriage and the nature of male friendship. Parents chose spouses and arranged marriages. Girls were supposed to be shy and setting traps, which again presupposed the virginity of the girls.⁴⁶ This did not mean however that adolescent males had no opportunity for or were not expected to have sexual experience before marriage.⁴⁷ On the contrary male society had a double standard separating "the matrilineal girls from the enjoyable ones," keeping up a "dichotomy between decency and sensuality."⁴⁸

Prostitution brought the moral account into balance. According to Menelik Wolde Mariam, the author explores the fact in the Ethiopian urban population was matched by a great number of women who could not find any work except at drinking houses and brothels.⁴⁹ The number of prostitutes in Addis Ababa was unknown although one estimate placed their number in 1964 at between 5 300 and 24 000.⁵⁰ Prostitution in Addis Ababa was practiced openly and matter of factly and it was so secret that high ranking officials were involved in the business. The extent to which the students visited prostitutes cannot even be conjectured; it might safely be said it was not uncommon given the incidence of venereal disease.⁵¹ In the opinion of Dr. Giemba Amare brothels and drinking places increased in proportion to the number of Ethiopian intellectuals who used these establishments as an escape from political frustration, and similar though it were expressed by others.⁵²

Although the prevalent view was that women were primarily sexual

objects, many male students longed for a new relationship with female students based on "equality"⁵² "We must realize that friendship on the same basis as that between persons of the same sex can be carried on between the opposite sexes."⁵³ One obstacle to a more meaningful relationship between the sexes was the kind of deeply personal, close, and affectionate friendship that existed between men. This was frequently manifested by the two walking hand in hand or with arms around each other's shoulders or by embracing and kissing each other on the cheeks when meeting. It had many characteristics attributed to romantic love in our culture which traditionally was largely unknown to Ethiopian youth.⁵⁴ Male friends shared everything, and in their walks, talks, studies and discussions the female student had no place.⁵⁵ A further complication was that the percentage of girls from the upper socio-economic circles was higher than for boys.⁵⁶ A frequent complaint was that girls tended when given the opportunity to prefer men possessing symbols of the highest material status.⁵⁷ It can be easily imagined that this caused antagonism and frustration among the male students, most of whom came from the poorer sections of Ethiopian society.

As a result of all these barriers to male-female interaction, and despite the fact that students rejected the principle of arranged marriage, many males tended in regard any girl who went out with more than one boy as a prostitute, and they continued to view women with the traditional attitude that they should be completely subservient to males.⁵⁸ Female students calling themselves "reform seekers" complained that they were in great demand on party occasions but shunned in everyday interactions, illustrating how the image of women was painfully connected to two irreconcilables—the enjoyable and the marriageable.⁵⁹

One indication of rising consciousness and new ideals concerning problems related to the sexes was the recurring condemnation of prostitution which students claimed to be one of the most pressing problems in Ethiopia. Resolutions demanded employment for girls who dropped out of schools and for prostitutes, improvement of the laws concerning marriage and divorce, and a "bachelor tax" in order to discourage prostitution.⁶⁰ In 1970 a fourth year student's essay focused on the sexual problems of male high school students in Addis Ababa.⁶¹ It pointed to the poor social interaction of boys and girls and to the fact that when a boy had a girlfriend, he expected her to be totally his own, she was not even allowed to talk to another male student. The essay concluded pessimistically that male students' desires tended toward unrestricted indulgence in sexual affairs and they considered the opposite sex as an object to play with and not as a companion and friend for mutual help and understanding. Their motive for relationships with girls is sexual gratification and taking advantage of them.⁶² Another manifestation of male consciousness was the way the concept "liberation of women" was taken up in LSUAA election campaign speeches

representing the task that women themselves fight for their liberation. For almost three months USL AA secretary general in 1971 persistently admonished an audience of male students to stop regarding women as "sexual objects only."⁴ At the December 4, 1972 assembly in memory of the murdered USL AA president, Iwubis Gura one female student rose to read a poem she had written, and the men enthusiastically applauded her before she began.⁵ Toward the end of the 1960s social barrenness between the sexes at HSU⁶ seemed to diminish, although the sharply increased participation of male students seemed to impede the process temporarily as fewer spent time at the female students' living quarters.⁷ The increased public consciousness also affected the quality of relationship between the sexes in that female students emerged who had great personal integrity and dedication to cause, acutely aware of the realities of Ethiopian society. In the tragic attempt to hijack an Ethiopian Air Lines plane in December 1972 two of the seven hijackers, all students or former students, were women.⁸ Marta Melkamu was killed along with five male colleagues, and only Tadelech Kalene Marara, although seriously wounded, survived. Marta was a last year medical student whose competence, outspokenness, good nature and strong interest in politics were widely known.⁹ Tadelech was a former student and had traveled widely in Ethiopia systematically observing the conditions of the people. The previous year she had been employed to teach at a Peace Corps seminar in Yergerta. A female Ethiopian colleague was amazed to see how Tadelech contacted people in drinking and coffee houses and the like places to draw them into conversation. On Tadelech's initiative the two went to the remote province of Bale, a rather unusual undertaking for two young Ethiopian women.¹⁰ Yet another example of women challenging their fellow students occurred in April 1973 when three girls in their final year at HSU left to join the Popular Liberation Front in Eritrea.

In the period of very rapid change experienced by students in HSU it is only to be expected that a mixture of emerging opposing attitudes, values, and ideals would exist. Although there were exceptions, from before 1960 until after 1970 the prevailing tendency among male students was to accept university education for women and reluctantly fight male prejudices against this new role female students assumed to play in personal assurance and integrity.

Notes

- 1 Central Statistical Office Population of Ethiopia 91: 13
- 2 Ibid., p. 6
- 3 Levine 1965:79; and Zembezwik Tedros 1972
- 4 The depressed status of women in Ethiopia has also pointed out by Ethiopian intellectuals like Getachew Assefa, 1964:10; in the speech of Melesha Dejiba Marara, "Rural Life in Ethiopia" 31.11.1972 to the University Women's Club we particularly pointed to the unfortunate practice of forcing many children to marry. See also Zembezwik Tedros 1972.

5. Central Statistical Office, *Population of Ethiopia*, 1971. 2, 16.
6. Ibid., p. 10. The statistics of 1971 point out that a larger male than female population above 65 years of age was recorded in almost 60 percent of the African countries, but that the difference between the sexes was only in very few cases as great as in Ethiopia.
7. Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Abstract 1964*.
8. Aklilu Habte, "A Brief Review of the History of the University College of Addis Ababa," 1971 26-27.
9. *N & V*, 30.4.1966 24, "Women Students in the University" by Alemayehu Esbete.
10. See Table 6 and UR 28.3.1968 8. In 1967-1968 there were 53 female and 32 male foreign students.
11. Tesfome Wagnaw, "A Follow-up Study of the 1961 Addis Ababa Education Conference of African States," 1971 53.
12. UCAA NL 15.5.1959
13. *N & V* 10.6.1960.
14. Bewahne Ghebral, "Ethiopian Women and Higher Education," 1958 25.
15. Ibid., p. 26.
16. CO 30.11.1961 3
17. UC Colls 11.5 1957
18. *N & V* 24.12.1959
19. UCAA NL 22.5 1959
20. UCAA NL 29.5.1959. Student interest in female emancipation was reflected in the many debates on the topic "Is Emancipation of Women Beneficial to Society?" (UC Colls, undated, November 1956); "Who has contributed more to the making of civilization, men or women?" (UCAA NL 20.11.1958); "Educating Women is a Mistake?" (*N & V* 20.4.1961); "Why the UC girls do not participate in extracurricular activities" (*N & V* 20.11.1964); "An Educated Woman need not be Influenced by Old Customs and Traditions" (*N & V* 27.11.1964), and "The Role of Educated Women in the Development of Ethiopia" (UR II 1 1968).
21. UCAA NL 5.6.1959.
22. UCAA NL 22.5 1959
23. UC Colls 24.1.1956, and *N & V* 15.3.1963 10, 29.3.1963 11, 25.4.1966 10, 11.
24. *N & V* 27.4.1961, 3.4.1963 9
25. *N & V* 15.3.1963 10
26. *N & V* 29.3.1963.
27. *N & V* 29.3.1963:10, 11.12
28. *N & V* 15.3.1963 10, 29.3.1963 6.
29. *N & V* 29.3.1963 6, 7, 12.
30. *N & V* 10.4.1966 2.
31. Ethiopian student delegates returning from a seminar in Cairo commented on the Egyptian female students: "They are not shy or subjected to the absurdities that tint their social relations with boys, absurdities that are very prominent in our College girls." AP 20.5.1965 4.
32. *N & V* 23.3.1961, "Why the University College girls do not participate in extracurricular activities," panel discussion; and *N & V* 20.11.1964 6.
33. *N & V* 30.4.1966; and *Struggle* 3.4.1967 13, 6.3.1968:14.
34. *Struggle* 3.4.1967.13
35. Diary 9.3.1973
36. LC 27, 15.12.1970.
37. *N & V* 30.4.1966 24, 28.

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38. *N & V* 30.4.1966.24. 28 23.3.1963 12.
39. *B-B* 17.1.1966 7
40. *N & V* 20.11.1964.6, *B-B* 17.1.1966 7 and *N & V*. 6.1966 13.
41. *N & V* 20.11.1959, 18.3.1960, 15.2.1962 7, 5.4.1963, 1.6.1966; *B-B* 23.2.1965 18.19 Levine 1965 126 and SAC Committee on Student Unrest, Results of Faculty of Arts Opinion Survey, undated, 1968 4.
42. *N & V* 29.3.1963.5, 15.2.1962 7
43. *Struggle* 27.3.1968 2.
44. Amba pamphlet 1968 no. 5.
45. Levine 1965 125, 126, SAC Committee on Student Unrest From Ewing, May 3, 1968 3
46. Levine 1965 99-100
47. Levine 1965 126, and Gimma Amare 1964 205.
48. Meftin Welde Mariam, "Problems of Urbanization," 1966 25 32, 35
49. Getachew Araya, "The Municipality and the Brothels," 1964 12.
50. SAC Letters, *Draft for Development Committee*, November 9, 1965 3, and Giel and van Luyk, "A Follow-up," 1970 24
51. Gimma Amare, "The Modern Ethiopian Intellectuals." 1967-1968 13, and Getachew Araya, "The Municipality and the Brothels," 1964 18
52. *N & V* 20.1.1959. 25.4.1966 .0, 1.6.1966 13
53. *N & V* 18.3., 1960.
54. Gimma Amare 1964 205
55. Among girls in school and university, who were no longer so restricted in their movements by parental protection, there tended to develop a similar relationship.
56. *Struggle* 27.3.1968 13, Pausewang, "Report on a Research," 1970 10.
57. *CO* 13.11.1964.8, and *Addis Reporter* 2, No. 8, July 1970 2, "This Senseless competition," by Work Aferahu Kebede.
58. Levine 1965 126 and SAC Committee on Student Unrest, From Ewing, May 30, 1968 3-4.
59. *N & V* 1.6.1966 13.
60. "Resolution on Prostitution" in "Resolutions of the 4th Annual Congress of the National Union of Ethiopian University Students," May 4-11, 1964 4, and "Resolutions of the 6th Congress of the National Union of Ethiopian University Students," March 9-14 1967 7-8
61. Gabrennakel Afafha, "Sex Problems of Addis Ababa Milt High School Adolescent Students," 1970
62. Ibid., pp. 27, 28, 32
63. USUAA election campaign speeches, 17.3.1971 (personal observation) Among the general demands and grievances declared in the general assembly of USUAA, 23 May 1971, which voted for withdrawal from the university was "Liberation for women."
64. Personal notes 28.12.1971
65. Diary 19.5.1973.
66. *EH* 9.12.1972, 13.12.1972
67. Diary 10.12.1975, 19.5.1973
68. Diary 19.5.1973

1:5 The Ethiopian Meritocracy

Before investigating the value orientation and attitudes of Ethiopian university students in the 1960s, it is necessary to know something about the patterns of behavior set by their predecessors, those who had been profoundly influenced by advanced secular education.

Until the twentieth century, the elite concept in Ethiopian society applied to persons belonging to the imperial house, the nobility, and the high clergy; it was mostly restricted to Christian Amhara Tigre groups. Along with the prestige, esteem, and expectations attached to education came new criteria for status rewards. The mid-twentieth-century graduates, most of them from humble origins and educated abroad or, increasingly, at home, were often referred to as the "new Ethiopian elite."¹ Although we are here concerned with this group, it is important to stress that even before the Italian occupation in 1935 there were individuals who, on the basis of their education and studies abroad, criticized their society and favored profound changes. They may rightly be referred to as the early progressives.² They also were regarded with suspicion and ostracized by those in power, the nobles and the clergy, who opposed most innovation.

Just after the turn of the century, Aferwork Gebre Yesus, in his *Guide du voyageur en Abyssinie* (Rome, 1908) deplored conditions in Ethiopia—the ignorance, the obsolete judicial system, the exploitation of the many for the benefit of the few—and advocated abolition of the feudal system as a prerequisite for progress.³ The feudal nobles, according to Aferwork, "eat, drink, sleep and grow fat like Easter sheep at the expense of the poor public which is continually and pitilessly robbed by them...as long as the feudal system exists in the empire of Ethiopia neither education nor liberty will reign there."⁴ Gebre Hiwot Bay-

Kedagne held similar views. He published a collection of articles, *Berhan Yehoun* (Amena, 1912), one of which, "Aze Mengistu on Ethiopia," held up Japan as a worthy example. He proposed the separation of royal property and government resources, progressive taxation, a census, selected officials, codification of laws, and freedom of worship, he was much concerned with the development of an educational program and the institutionalization of government. Dr Martin Workneh denounced slavery³ and the Russian-educated Tafari Haile Selassie prompted Haile Selassie to grant the 1931 Constitution, which he is believed to have authored.

In the regency period of Haile Selassie ('Ibn Ras Tafari Makonnen) there was greater opportunity for reform than after his reign, indeed, he was not only the leading progressive but also the only one in a position of great authority. He associated with Cuban Hunt and was closer to an educated group known as the *Joumou d'Ethiopie*.⁴ The progressive ideas of the regent and this group were expressed in the weekly newspaper *Berhanena Saba* (Light and Peace), which was started in 1923 and *Amanu i Reason*. What united these people was their service to a common hero and the champion of a new era, Ras Tafari on whom they depended, and certain ideals concerning the emergence of a modern society. They did not seriously discuss how progress and change could be achieved. They were optimistic enthusiasts who "presumably assumed that progress would simply have to be imposed for it to effect its miracles which were deemed inevitable."⁵ Neither do they seem to have been much concerned with the plight of the masses of underprivileged, the liberated slaves and gibberri (qasarrif) of the southern and western conquered provinces who were forcibly assigned to Ambari settlers to serve them without pay.⁶

Most of the educated in the first third of this century had a rather shallow educational experience if they had been abroad their stay had been short. They were almost entirely dependent upon Ras Tafari, who sought to build a centralized state and who consistently pursued a policy of creating his own "bureaucracy of merit" to counterbalance the power of the wealthy feudal nobles.⁷ Their role was to execute the regent's wishes. Independent of him, the progressives were mostly isolated, rejected, and impotent and their number was insignificant.⁸ For the purpose of this work however it is important to stress that students in the 1940's were not the first to critique their society and advocate changes. The words of Aitwork quoted above could have been from a student pamphlet around 1920.

The Italian occupation and the war in Europe seriously impeded the growth in the number of educated Ethiopians. In 1935 of 5 senior central government officials, only five had been educated abroad.⁹ During 1943-1950, few new officials entered the government but in 1951 the first batch of post-war graduates returned from overseas and received posts in government service. Until the beginning of the 1960s the most powerful politicians were still men without

western education initiative was discouraged, and attempts at reform by the graduates who increasingly filled the ranks of assistant ministers and directors were blocked. By 1958, however, university graduates occupied most major government offices. Indeed, the great majority of those who held university degrees or had completed an academic or technical postsecondary education were employed in government. Unlike the educated elite in other African countries who rose to prominent social and political positions through their fight for independence, the power of the new Ethiopian elite was markedly circumscribed by the absolute authority of the emperor and the influence of the landowners and Orthodox clergy. The previous generation of graduates were, to a large extent, controlled by the emperor, who persistently attempted to build strong ties of loyalty with the educated.¹⁴ As the numbers of graduates in the administration increased, the younger members tended to be notably more independent than their older counterparts, and they acted more like administrators than personal servants of the emperor. Yet, no one reached a position of influence without having been raised to it by the monarch himself, and no one could hold high office without having Haile Selassie's favor.¹⁵ Gifts of money and land and even royal marriages were awarded those who conformed to the emperor's wishes; those who asserted strong opinions contrary to what was acceptable were reported to the emperor, accused of malice and defiance, and were demoted, banished or even imprisoned without trial.¹⁶ Efficient networks of informers created an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion which prevented people from exchanging views with any serious purpose. The high degree of "atomization" of the intellectuals has been seen as a conspicuous and problematic feature of this group.¹⁷

As Haile Selassie's own personal commitment to change declined and his preoccupation with his own power increased, the educated élite were caught in a conflict between self-interest and personal convictions.¹⁸ They did not form functional associations or a community of their own through which to discuss and formulate goals for Ethiopian development or for their own role in society. There were very few professional associations, and when university graduates formed an Alumni Association in 1948 only a few were actively involved.¹⁹ The ban on political activities, the press censorship, and the ever present informers prevented meaningful activity, the social-club type of associations flourished.

The question was often raised as to whether the educated élite's lack of organizational achievement and activity was due to the repressive political structure or to their own apathy. Some individualism in this group however much more could have been done within the existing limitations.²⁰ Disillusionment with and outright mere condemnation of the role of the educated élite was prevalent in comments by younger Ethiopians connected to the university and was directed mostly at the educated in political and bureaucratic positions of

power. The latter were accused of having misunderstood their role by believing that they had to be a part of the bureaucracy to promote development, and of having allowed themselves to become co-opted by the traditional power elite.²¹ They had forfeited the possibility of being "intellectuals of the opposition" and had in fact become an "auxiliary élite" serving the preservation of the existing political structure.²² Some critics would stress that the new bureaucracy acted contrary to paternal convictions for selfless motives, because they were so easily reduced to the charms of a comfortable life.²³

The educated in general were accused of ind. Tolerance to the prevailing social conditions and of being unwilling to work in the countryside.²⁴ It was asserted that education had succeeded primarily in producing "a privileged group of parasites" as "impotent" as they were "fish".²⁵ As noted earlier, it was supposed that the increase in prostitution and drinking places was proportionate to the number of intellectuals in Ethiopia. As long as the educated did not turn their backs on these methods of escape, they were helping perpetuate the conditions which were the cause of their frustration.²⁶ The word frustration was used very often by intellectuals to illustrate the position of individuals torn, as they were between words and action.

The criticism directed at the intellectuals was bitter, negative, and had aspects of self-hatred because the critics themselves were in effectials, even if the targets were those who had reached high office in the university or the government. "Individually they act rivals for positions and its us as well as for wealth and security. When they are outside the ruling classes they grumble and waste away with frustration and when they are on the inside they shed all qualms that make them intellectuals."²⁷ Ethiopian intellectuals often considered talk an adequate substitute for action.²⁸

From the point of view of a foreign researcher the role played by the new educated élite was important. According to Christopher Clapham, they must be seen as the moving force behind most of the political changes which, in fact took place after 1955. They formed a pressure group however loose, for modernisation provided the knowledge necessary to run the government in ways which had earlier been impossible, and improved the quality of the administration. If Haile Selassie before the war had led the process of change, he was later cautiously being led.²⁹ Such goals of development as were formulated, if only on paper, were the work of the educated. Clapham claims, for example that the policy of Pan Africanism was pressed on the emperor by a group of pan-African graduates.³⁰ After the 1967 Labor Relations Decree permitted the formation of labor unions university graduates played an important part in organizing trade unions, instructing labor leaders, and translating European material into Amharic.³¹ Yet there is more than a grain of truth in the frequent criticism that graduates once secure in a salaried position seemed to forget their idealism and opposition to the system.³² Many conformed,

found satisfaction in doing a professional job worked hard, and came to rationalize change as a gradual process which could be promoted within the system.¹³ Their disillusion and contempt for autocracy did not disappear even if withdrawal from political activity was a conscious choice in order to lead a "normal" life. A professional executive and former student leader put it this way: "Everything has its time - there is a time for throwing stones and a time for gathering stones."¹⁴ Changes had to be consolidated and new ones carefully planned before the next stage in the process could be reached.

Increasingly however, the bureaucracy and the underdeveloped economy could no longer absorb the graduates of the university and technical schools and give them work in any way meaningfully related to the needs of the country. Far too many highly educated persons were given large salaries and a desk in some government office but had nothing to do. When even desks and salaries could not be provided, political frustration could no longer be repressed. It was a widespread view that the government deliberately discouraged Ethiopian reformists from engaging in enterprises which would contribute to their economic independence, as personal prosperity might threaten the regime's security.¹⁵

As to the pattern of behavior the first generation of educated Ethiopians or for university students, one is left with the conclusion that it was one of inertia. A majority of the newly educated elite were in governmental service, which severely curtailed independent action. The image of those in high office was badly tarnished among Ethiopians in the university and in the lower strata of bureaucracy. Intellectuals as a group were judged to be the tools of and collaborators with both domestic and foreign exploiters.¹⁶ Far from providing any "soul-stirring enthusiasm" or driving force for reform they did not influence governments to implement the reforms most of whom personally supported.¹⁷ Even if they had tried, it is very doubtful they could have convinced the wealthy and powerful that the time had come to renounce their privileges. In sum, the educated elite may have made individual contributions, but they did not challenge the government by organizing themselves into associations which could form the basis for a system to replace the imperial autocracy.

Notes

- 1 Taferra Work Becht, "The Social Background and the Development of the New Ethiopian Elite," 344-4)
- 2 Balcha Denkota, "The Role of the Progressives in Ethiopian Politics 1909-1930," 370. As far as I know, the only comprehensive essay on this topic is Pankhurst, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia," 1962 247-90.
- 3 Balcha Denkota, "The Role of the Progressives," 197-84.
- 4 Afterwuk Goba's Yemek, *Gedige ab ayayayen an Abbaale* (Rome 1968), pp. 234, 235, quoted in Balcha Denkota, "The Role of the Progressives," 1970 3354.

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5. Ibid., p. 34.
6. Ibid., p. 97; and Mekakis 1974:27).
7. Tafari Work Bechuk, "Social Background," 1964:33.
8. Greenfield 1969:315. Greenfield, "Some Thoughts on the Ethiopian Elite," 1965; and Balcha Demissie, "Role of the Progressives," 1970:43, 44.
9. Balcha Demissie, "Role of the Progressives," 1970:46.
10. Ibid., p. 34.
11. Ibid., p. 51.
12. Ibid., pp. 56, 62; and Greenfield 1969:315.
13. Clapham 1969:17, 23, 24, 25, 69.
14. Mekakis 1974:145.
15. Clapham 1969:31, 32, 68, 89; and Mekakis 1974:112.
16. Girma Amare, "The Modern Ethiopian Intelligentsia," 1966-1967; Mekakis 1974:213; Tadesse Ababa, "The Life and Career of Dejazmach Takle Wold Hawariyat" 1971 Preface and Abate Dibaba, "Legal Limitations on Speech and the Press in Ethiopia," 1969:Introduction.
17. Lewine, "Class Consciousness and Class Solidarity in the New Ethiopian Elites," 1966.
18. Clapham 1969:18, Mekakis 1974:393, and Tafari Work Bechuk, "Social Background," 1964:72.
19. Tafari Work Bechuk, "Social Background," 1964:56, 72-73.
20. Girma Amare, "The Modern Ethiopian Intelligentsia," 1966-1967, and Taye Guermu, *African Nationalism with particular reference to Ethiopia* 1968:61.
21. Tafari Work Bechuk, "Social Background," 1964:73.
22. Assefa Bequele, "The Ethiopian Elite and Intelligentsia: A Socio-Historical Profile," 1967:1-8.
23. Girma Amare, "The Modern Ethiopian Intelligentsia," 1966-1967:3; Assefa Bequele, "Educated Ethiopians Support a System They Dislike," NUEUS Sixth Congress Address, OR 24.3 1967:3-4; and Assefa Bequele, "The Ethiopian Elite," 1967:7.
24. Tafari Work Bechuk, "Social Background," 1964:72.
25. Meles Wold Mariam, "Cultural Problems of Development," 1966:18.
26. Girma Amare, "The Modern Ethiopian Intelligentsia," 1966-1967:13, and Getachew Assefa, "The Municipality and the Brothels," 1964:18.
27. Meles Wold Mariam, "The Role of Labour in Under-Developed Countries," 1966:11.
28. Hoss, "Ethiopia," 1966:501.
29. Clapham 1969:23, 69.
30. Ibid., p. 91. The name is indicated, although less strongly, in Hoss 1970:224, 236.
31. Hoss 1970:22-24. Seyoum Sebie Egzahber "The Development of Some Institutions Concerned with Labour Relations in Ethiopia," 1969:54, 61.
32. Girma Amare, "The Modern Ethiopian Intelligentsia," 1966-1967:10.
33. See Schwab 1972:98-105, about the drafting of the Agricultural Income Tax Proclamation intended to bring revenue from the landholding of the church and the great landlords, but which was completely restructured by the traditional forces represented in Parliament in 1967.
34. LC 75, 24.5.1972, LC 76, 30.5.1971, LC 77, 9.6.1972; and LC 87, 29.1.1973.
35. Girma Amare 1964:184, 186; Gilkes 1975:169 and LC 100, 5.6.1973.
36. Editorial, *Dialogue*, 2 August 1969.
37. Hoffer 1951:14, and Clapham 1969:91.

Part II

Challenge of Authority

1958-1962

2:1 Quest for Expression

The first student magazine in the University College of Addis Ababa emerged from the establishment of the Writers' Club in 1952. It put out a one-page paper fortnightly until it was discontinued after the 1952-1953 academic year.¹ The next attempt was a magazine entitled *UC Calls*,² whose purpose was to record "the activities of the various extracurricular offices and herald events of importance to the student body." It would inform the students about film shows and also "entertain... (you) with humorous and modern caricatures. Besides it will have quizzes."³

It was acknowledged that college students should have a paper, but the purpose of such an undertaking was far from clear, and the students had only vague ideas of what it should be. To write about on-campus activities, in which students had participated, seemed senseless to some. "They are writing about a sport we have seen a film show we have attended, or a Debating Society of which we were the audience!" How the hell do these things in which we participated, in some way or other, interest us?"⁴ Never in *UC Calls* was it suggested the paper could be a forum in which students expressed opinions about campus problems or the realities of everyday Ethiopian life.

The content of *UC Calls* very much reflected a lack of purpose. The contributions were of two types literary attempts and small essays on moral values. The latter were unrealistic and artificial, showing no perception of a specific social environment. They revealed that high school composition writing had been neglected to a large extent and that students were unable to express themselves well in writing. The main difficulty was the foreign language, but it was also clear that students were hardly more accustomed to writing in Amharic.⁵ The students seem to have been most interested in philosophical expositions

of personal moral values, which reflects the Ethiopian culture and the influence of Jesuit teachers. The essays were entitled "Pride," "Responsibility," "Problems in Life," and "A Gentle Man," and an editorial toward the end of the academic year called for self-analysis. "Do I have a well-established moral position? ...Have I done my duty in my own modest way, to God, to society and to myself? What advance have I made on my previous character or personality?"⁹ The focus was on the personal. The moralistic attitude, but also identification with new intellectual values, is revealed in this advice to the student body: "Be good mannered and sociable considerate and sympathetic. Let truth be your armour, abide by your self-made laws, and follow not emotions or instincts. Use your head and you will be a man."¹⁰ In the *University College Journal*, published by the students in June 1958, one essay was "Our Knowledge of God."¹¹ UC Calls printed quotations with high moralistic appeal from the speeches of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I from the books of St. Augustine, and from other prominent personalities from history.

The Lack of Student Contributions

The editor of UC Calls, Asfaw Damte, a member of the Student Council, encouraged students to write to the paper.¹² One wrote that secondary schools in Addis Ababa, like the Tafari Makonnen School, were able to issue a student paper, whereas at UCAA all the work was put on the editor's shoulders. "Don't forget that future college generations will blame us for not having been able to contribute."¹³ In some issues the editor's name appeared under almost all articles.¹⁴ In the last issue the editor wrote that the student body had shown "cold indifference" to the magazine. "I was obliged to cover the 'UC Calls' from the front to the last page with my own contributions because there were no articles contributed by others."¹⁵ The Student Council discussed whether to start a college magazine the following academic year, but most felt the student body could not be relied on for articles. The *University College Journal* was issued annually in 1958, 1959, and 1960, but lack of contributions was given as the reason for its discontinuance.¹⁶

Students unwillingness to write might be attributable to their unfamiliarity with the functioning of a newspaper in a local environment. They thus could not see how the student body could benefit from such an effort. Press and radio in Ethiopia were entirely government owned and strictly censored by the Ministry of Information.¹⁷ Newspaper reportage of world affairs was superficial, and coverage of domestic affairs was grossly inadequate. The papers were devoted to the glorification of the emperor and to pretentious self-congratulation over the achievements of the government. They were media of communication from ruler to the ruled, not creation of public opinion or channels for the expression of opinion.¹⁸ The papers did not attempt to come to

grids with Ethiopian reality, and anything somewhat related to political criticism did not appear. They were thus uninteresting reading for the students and could not demonstrate the powerlessness inherent in the news media.

For young Ethiopians to express opinions freely was in itself something very new. They were expected to absorb without questioning what they were told by parents, older relatives, teachers and superiors. The culture was deeply committed to respect for seniority and authority, the free expression of opinion much less questioning, had never been encouraged.¹⁴ The educational philosophy of the French Canadian Jesuits who administered and taught at UC AAs was much in line with traditional Ethiopian philosophy which probably was the reason they were thought to be suitable education.¹⁵ Ethiopia and foreign teachers as well as Ethiopian students of the late 1960s speak not only of the tight discipline and authoritarian, paternalistic attitudes of the Jesuits, but also of their strict ideological focus.¹⁶ Thus student cultural background as well as the college atmosphere did not foster freedom of expression.

Moreover, there were explicit prohibitions as to what topics could be covered. The editor of UC Celsus informed students they could write articles on "any topic under the sun" but this exemption was immediately and drastically limited to topics not dealing with "politics and religion" or anything concerning "tribe."¹⁷ The large number of untouched subjects partly explains the lack of contributions. Nevertheless, a few years later student writing increased despite the same regulations, educating the students in the UYU did not feel strongly about expressing themselves. If there was talk of a free press and academic freedom, it was not reflected in student papers. The students were irritated by the constant appeals from UC Cells "Leave us alone. We are overburdened with work in the University College."¹⁸ It was explicitly stated that students were interested in improving their own personal lives and therefore could not afford to spend time writing articles for the paper. There was a feeling among students that a college magazine ought to differ from UC Celsus, which was characterized as "unattractive" and this was given as one reason for lack of contributions.¹⁹ Those who found the paper "unattractive" had no suggestions as to how it could be improved.

Attitudes toward "criticism" were yet another impediment to student expression. In the contemporary Ethiopian context it seemed difficult to distinguish between "criticism" and "insult." The editor of UC Celsus complained that criticism was being used for anonymous, personal attacks and was not constructive because it lacked suggestions for improvement.²⁰ The Ethiopian student was reluctant to criticize because it would create "ill feeling and an unfriendly atmosphere among students."²¹ In a college with so many latent sources of conflict—ethnicity and differences in language, religion, and economic status—criticism was regarded as risky. The problem was reflected in the fact that the Faculty Council's Code of Conduct contained specific rules

related to public criticism within the university.¹⁴

To an outsider the paper do not display much personal abuse, but it is hard to determine what is meant as an insult and what is perceived as an insult. Surprisingly, in *News and Views*, a later student publication, it was said that except for the editorials the paper was but a "means of students attacking other students for no purpose," and an editorial some years later found it necessary to warn the student body not to use the paper "as a platform for showering abuse at one another."¹⁵ Dr. Girma Amare found that the Ethiopian intelligentsia believed criticism distasteful because of a "persisting traditional disposition" to regard "criticism of one's ideas...as an attack on one's person."¹⁶ According to Girma, educated Ethiopians did not believe intellectual argument was a means to arrive at "mutually acceptable ideas by exchanging views and criticizing these views." The first challenge to the students' hesitation about "criticism" was made by other Africans who came to study in Ethiopia.

The Scholarship Students

In 1948 at the Conference of Independent African Countries held in Ghana Emperor Haile Selassie offered 200 scholarships for college studies in Ethiopia.¹⁷ Fifty students were supposed to come each year, and as early as October 1958 fifteen had arrived.¹⁸ They came from British colonies, from Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Sudan, Nigeria, and Greece, and from an intellectual climate in which the challenge to European colonial rule was most important. Their countries were in the final act of the independence struggle in which the educated class had played, and was playing, the main part.¹⁹ To them, intellectuals should be instigators and leaders of great movements of opposition and change. They came to study in the country which was renowned for its fight against Italian aggression and for its long independence, the country considered a symbol of African dignity.²⁰ They were impressed with the strong indigenous cultural background but were disappointed to find Ethiopia so underdeveloped and its students politically unconscious. Their strongest reaction centered around the controls and restrictions on all aspects of student life in UCAA.²¹ A scholarship student tried to assure his Ethiopian fellows that attacks on personalmen were commonplace elsewhere in connection with academic affairs, sex and politics. "Such articles will do us no harm, either they will make college life what it should be interesting."²² *News and Views* was advised to criticize objectively and not seek to "justify their employers" - that is, the college authorities. "The leaders of tomorrow must learn to speak the truth today and not tomorrow." The college was the obvious place to start. The widespread fear of criticism among both staff and students was lamented by Omorg Callis. With that attitude prevalent, "we close the gates to progress and we make unfounded enmity with those who attempt to speak the truth."²³

Owing to the lack of student contributions to UC Cells a less ambitious attempt was begun in November 1957, the UCAA Newsletter was a one- or two-page bulletin whose purpose was to publish news within the UCAA community.⁴⁴ Scholarship students criticised it for being merely an official communiqué of weekly events.⁴⁵ In March 1959 Oluogi Cawth a Kenyan together with a few others including Ethiopians, started a paper called the Campus Star, which challenged and questioned the limitation of topics that could be dealt with in the student press.⁴⁶ The group around the *Campus Star* first raised the question of a free press in the University College.⁴⁷ It was a well poster, each issue consisting of about ten pages, and none seems to have been preserved. Little is remembered about the *Campus Star* except its大胆 challenge to the Jemil administration and its treatment of untouchable subjects. They wrote about Marx and questioned the existence of God in a college run by Jesuits.⁴⁸ One article wrote about how the Pope had claimed the Italian forces that set out to "conquer and re-order in Ethiopia in 1915".⁴⁹ The editor maintained that the *Campus Star* was student run, whereas the *Newsletter* was under the "authoritarian wrap".⁵⁰ This charge was denied by the *Newsletter*, which explained its insubstantial publication by referring to the lack of contributions.⁵¹ It found it necessary to disassociate itself from the *Campus Star* and defend its position. "The fact that the *Newsletter* has deliberately adopted a policy of non-involvement in matters of politics, religion, or race does not mean that it cannot render a valuable service to the College Community."⁵²

After a few issues the college council suppressed the *Campus Star* on the pretext that its articles were unsigned.⁵³ The attitude of the Ethiopian students in general in this paper was mixed. Surely they admired and loved the challenge to the administrator but they also felt hurt and bitter about the scholarship students under a talk on the apathy of the Ethiopian student body.⁵⁴ No regrets were published in the *Newsletter* when the *Campus Star* was stopped, but an undated editorial comment in *University College Journal* reflects regrettor. "The *Campus Star* was a bold attempt at presenting bold opinions. It was, as long as it lasted a bold attempt."⁵⁵

The effect of the short lived *Campus Star* was considerable. In May 1959 the *Newsletter* announced that it would include a new section, "News and Views," in which students could express themselves.⁵⁶ It was admitted without reference to the *Campus Star*, that the *Newsletter* had not fulfilled the "most important duty of a paper—that is the expression of men's thoughts and ideas. It is to this effect that criticism arose from everywhere and was heaped upon us."⁵⁷ Some students admitted the *Campus Star* had influenced the *Newsletter* "No one who has his heart in the right place, will deny this fact. we are morally obliged to give the devil his due."⁵⁸ The new section was the origin of another student paper *News and Views* which replaced the *Newsletter* in academic year 1959-1960.⁵⁹

Freedom of the Press

The lack of contributions continued after the establishment of *News and Views*. In its first year 30 percent of the contributions came from scholarship students, but this percentage dropped conspicuously thereafter. An editorial stated that students were "very discreet about expressing their views" because of indifference and a lack of opinions.⁵⁰ A scholarship student described the situation as follows: "Press is a strange feature in our community and we do not know how to handle it." In an open letter the former editor of *Campus Star* called for an atmosphere in which a "free press was a declared, undreaded policy." If the students were able to accept a free press as an "unassimilable feature of any democratic society," the most important obstacle to interest in the paper would be overcome.⁵¹ The Ethiopian students behind *News and Views* did not agree, seeing the main problem as the students' poor writing skills. "The fact that students do not or cannot write has nothing to do with the freedom of the press."⁵² The paper supported the authorities' right to "inspect and grade" the student press because they were "the legitimate guardians of discipline." A free and undisciplined press could create "chaos and disorder." The paper also stressed that the college administration seldom tried to repress the freedom of the press. These views were representative of Ethiopian student attitudes at the time, even if some privately supported Onoai Calleb's views, and taking into consideration the fact that *Views and News* had an "adviser," that is was controlled by the Dean of Arts.⁵³ The Ethiopian students were annoyed at what they felt was a constant attack on their relationship with the authorities. "If a person is not against his superior, it does not follow that he is their employee as is popularly believed in certain circles."⁵⁴ They felt regard for superiors was part of their culture and remained outside criticism and dictation. "We will never submit to being censored—paper—we will maintain our traditions and our own mode of life within the University College."⁵⁵

The first Ethiopian student demand for a free press came in late 1960. In 1959 Geteyshe Fussa was invited by the University Students Union in Oslo to spend a year at the university there to study Norwegian student activities. After returning to Ethiopia he gave a speech to the student body which was received with the utmost enthusiasm. According to him, the college authorities prevented freedom of speech on the grounds that the student body was not mature enough to handle it. Geteyshe stressed that men must have the freedom to arrive at truth through his own efforts and folly.

Nothing original comes through the mind of a man who is never given a chance to express himself and weigh his own ideas against those of others. Historians claim that Ethiopia slept over a thousand years forgetful of the world by whom it was forgotten and our

college. Through banning the student paper it demonstrated its unconcern with prolonging this period of mental sleep.⁵⁸

He also accused LCAA of creating passive personalities with no capacity for original thinking. Students who had not been allowed to develop any "argumentative qualities," who had not been allowed to question religion or political systems could not be expected when abroad to withstand western and communism the very ideologies the college authorities tried to keep forty from the students. Gebreyeshu Firtsu urged the students to demand a free press, run and controlled by students. He suggested a peaceful demonstration to the emperor to whom that "we are not in the least deserving of the name of college students without the possession of a single student paper."

Three weeks after the speech there was a debate in the college on the proposition that the student press should necessarily be free.⁵⁹ News and Views printed one of the opposing speeches to point out "the realities which must be faced on the question." The opponent stated that a free press could not be achieved because of the political and social conditions prevailing in the country. "We must realize that the administration of our college is that of the government in miniature. And we know that the government is decidedly against free press whether on the college campus or outside." Student pressure for a free press would lead to government refusal, perhaps even expulsion. Envisaging the consequences of a free press in Ethiopia, the opposition spokesman used well-known government arguments. It would promote tribalism, bad nationalism, extreme individualism and abhorrent repression.⁶⁰ The students and advisers behind News and Views saw Gebreyeshu Firtsu's enthusiastic recommendation as impossible. If the peaceful demonstration he suggested was ever seriously contemplated the shortlived *camp d'été* in December 1960, supported by a large number of students, ruled it out.⁶¹

By 1961 there were signs that some students were serious about the question of a free press. For the first time in a student paper it was argued that the freedom of the press guaranteed in the Ethiopian Constitution ought to be tested. "Nothing comes by itself. It is our duty to prove that responsible academic freedom is desirable. The future progress of Ethiopia can be promoted by our contribution."⁶² A scholarship student fully supported these views, challenging the editor of News and Views to admit there was "no less censorship" of public media.⁶³ Judging by what was published, one can only conclude either that there was such censorship or that none were contributed. The election of a Kenyan, Stanley Culver, to president of committee officer of the Student Council in autumn 1961 "on the basis that he would give more freedom of the press" indicates that the issue had become important. That students in general were in favor, and that they were prepared to elect a foreigner to push through these new ideas,⁶⁴

Time and again the question arose of who ran the student paper. Financially, it was dependent on the university, as the students did not have their own duplicating machine. Before production all articles had to be signed by a faculty adviser,⁶³ who saw to it that they were in "good taste," without "prejudice unsubstantiated by facts," and were not "unfair attacks on personalities."⁶⁴ To promote competent writing UCAA offered a journalism course in 1960, and thereafter most members of the *News and Views* editorial board were students who had taken this class.⁶⁵ In autumn 1961 the paper was attacked by "some of the liveliest and most acute criticism yet heard" in the college community.⁶⁶ The dissatisfaction stemmed partly from the restrictions put on the paper by the authorities, the "invincible band of censorship," and partly from the fact that the students who ran it were not elected by the student body, but were from the journalism class.⁶⁷ There were demands for an "autonomous" paper run by a board elected by the student body.⁶⁸ There was a conflict between the elected Student Council and the editorial board. The former, with a scholarship student as press and information officer, wanted to push the paper toward a degree of freedom the editorial board considered unrealistic. The conflict deepened, and a student referendum in December 1961 approved a proposal that an editorial board chaired by the Student Council's press and information officer should be created to run *News and Views*.⁶⁹ The relationship between this board and the editorial staff was always uneasy, and for some reason the paper continued to be run mostly by students from the class of journalism.⁷⁰

In connection with the demand for an independent paper it was decided to sell *News and Views*,⁷¹ and during the last week 506 copies were purchased.⁷² The most eager customers were the extension students of the Faculty of Arts who came to evening classes. The students behind *News and Views* wanted to circulate the paper outside the college, to teach people they thought would benefit from the ideas emerging in the university.⁷³ There was a growing wish to create a purpose for the student press which went beyond the closed world of higher education, to reflect a true picture of the reality outside.

Notes

1. *University College Journal* June 1958:4
2. The first dated issue was November 24, 1956 but before this there were two undated issues. Altogether there were eleven issues, from four to eight pages each, the last on June 6, 1957. This magazine was typed, stencilled and posted in different places on campus. From the fourth issue one page was mailed to Amherst, U.C. Calif., undated February 1957.
3. *UC Calif.* undated first issue, Autumn 1956
4. *UC Calif.* :1 1 1957
5. *UC Calif.* 10 3 1957

- 6 Editorial, UC Calls 13.4 1957
 7 UC Calls 16.3.1957
 8 University College Journal June 1958 9
 9 UC Calls 11.3.1957
 10 UC Calls 30.3.1957
 11 UC Calls 16.3.1957
 12 UC Calls 8.6.1957
 13 University College Journal June 1959 3
 14 Greenfield 1965 174, and Hess 1970 103
 15 Newspapers reached few. Toward the end of the 1950s average newspaper readership per thousand Ethiopians, was estimated to be two, compared to eight in Nigeria and Uganda, 20 in Egypt, and 32 in Ghana. Greenfield 1965 333
 16 Girma Amane 1964 42.
 17 LC 104, 28.3.1973
 18 LC 44, 23.5.1971, LC 87 29.1.1973 LC 83 12.9.1972, and *Addis Reporter* 10.1.1969 "Richard Pankhurst: A Profile" by Gedamu Abraha
 19 UC Calls 24.11.1956, UC Calls second issue, undated, 1956
 20 UC Calls, Amharic page, 13.4 1957
 21 UC Calls 30.3.1957
 22 UC Calls undated, probably February 1957, Amharic page
 23 N & V 1.4 1960
 24 HSIU, Faculty Council legislation, November 1964 49. Code of Conduct b (III), the same is reprinted in the Faculty Council's Student Affairs 1970-1971, Code of Conduct. In the policy premises for the latter it was stated that students, staff and administration "should unanimously avoid insulting or slandering" one another
 25 N & V 7.6 1960. 10.1.1964
 26 Girma Amane, "The Modern Ethiopian *Inelligentsia*" [1966-1967] 11, 12. The problem of "insult" in Amharic society is revealed by the fact that at the beginning of the 1960s two-thirds of court cases at Ankober dealt with insults. Newssender 1965 56.
 27 "Emperor Haile Selassie's Address to the Ethiopian Parliament Nov 2, 1958," *Ethiopia Observer* 3, February 1959 66 and "The HSIU Scholarship program" EH 3.2 1965
 28 UC44 NL 3.10.1958
 29 Mizrahi 1978 1, Mizrahi, "What is an Intellectual?" 1969 12, Balsvik, "The Impact of the Haile Selassie I Scholarship Students on the Ethiopian Student Environment," 1974
 30 LC 85 3.4.0.1972 and LC 86. 6.10.1972. These were interviews in Nairobi with former scholarship students James Odaga and Omogi Oloka
 31 Ibid., and Greenfield 1965 366. Greenfield was adviser for the foreign students at this time
 32 N & V 14.5 1960.
 33 N & V 10.6 1960.
 34 The UC44 Newsletter was published by the Student Council's Office of Publicity (UC44 NL 28.3 1958). There were altogether 61 issues of this bulletin during academic 1957-1958 and 1958-1959. The first nine numbers were typed and printed, thereafter mimeographed and distributed in larger numbers
 35 Chojnicki, "The Function of Students' Magazine News and Views," 1967 5
 36 UC44 NL 26.3 1959
 37 Chojnicki, "The Function of Students' Magazine" 1967 5

38. LC 76, 30.5.1972; LC 85, 3.10.1972.
39. LC 86, 5.10.1972. See also Greenfield 1965 368
40. UCAA NL 21.5.1959
41. UCAA NL 26.3.1959
42. UCAA NL 19.3.1959, 26.3.1959
43. Greenfield 1965 368, LC 84, 16.9.1972.
44. LC 85, 3.10.1972, LC 76, 30.5.1972
45. *University College Journal* No.2, June 1959 4
46. UCAA NL 7.5.1959.
47. UCAA NL 15.5.1959
48. UCAA NL 22.5.1959
49. N&V 16.10.1959
50. N&V 24.6.1960.
51. N&V 10.6.1960, A Letter to the UCAA Community by Omogd Callieh
52. Editorial, N&V 24.6.1960.
53. N&V 21.12.1961 3; Greenfield 1965 366.
54. N&V 20.5.1960.
55. N&V 20.5.1960
56. N&V 3.11.1960 7.9
57. N&V 1.12.1960 5.
58. Ibid., p. 6.
59. See chapter 2.3
60. N&V 1.6.1961, no article by Mogen T. McBride.
61. N&V 8.6.1961, Letter to the Editor from Stanley Gulati.
62. N&V 9.1.1961.
63. N&V 21.12.1961 3, 27.11.1964.
64. N&V 8.6.1961
65. N&V 13.10.1960
66. Editorial, N&V 23.11.1961
67. N&V 8.6.1961, 23.11.1961
68. N&V 9.11.1961 1
69. N&V 16.11.1961, 21.12.1961
70. Editorial, N&V 4.1.1962
71. N&V 23.1.1961
72. Ibid.
73. LC 88, 29.1.1973; N&V 23.11.1961 10, 13, N&V 3.11.1960 9, a speech by Gebeyehu Firlamu, and N&V 23.11.1961 10, "The Press and the Community," by Stanley Gulati

2:2 Quest for Unity

Compared to most other African countries, the lack of all types of associations in Ethiopia was striking. The long colonial presence had prompted other Africans to emulate European patterns, but this impetus had not existed in Ethiopia. The exception was the northernmost province, Eritrea where Italian influence had been considerable, and where a labor movement and political parties existed at the time of the federation with Ethiopia.¹ Otherwise, there was no political party in the country, not even one organized by the government to enlist support for the regime. The Ethiopian National Patriotic Association and the Ethiopian Patriots' Association were geared toward the self-interest of their members, and the *Voice of Ethiopia* the newspaper of the former, was even more conservative than the papers more directly controlled by the government.²

The 1955 Constitution granted the right to form unions,³ but because they were considered a potential political force, the government was reluctant to give official recognition and even more reluctant to recognize a confederation of labor unions. The example of Eritrea and the embarrassment caused when labor leaders from elsewhere came to visit "their counterparts and working brothers" in Ethiopia and found few or none, prodded the government into action.⁴ The encouragement and advice of intellectuals also contributed to creation of a labor movement around 1962. Significantly, before the establishment in April 1963 of CELL, the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions, a seminar was held at the university to encourage union leaders to move their organizations beyond the narrow scope of self-help. Some college graduates were engaged at CELL's secretariat. They provided necessary technical skill but little in the way of turning the labor movement into a political force. It remained inactive for many years.

02 Part I

It has been noted that Ethiopian intellectuals showed little inclination to form a functional association. This inability has been seen partly as the influence of deep-seated socio-political factors, such as the influence of the traditional Amhara culture which dominated the polity.³ The majority of educated Ethiopians had their roots in this culture and studies of Amhara society have concluded that its hierarchical social stratification was atypical of sub-Saharan Africa.⁴ The Amhara were geared toward loyalty to higher ranking, important people, and this disposition weakened group solidarity. Perhaps because of suspicion, fear, and self-interestedness cooperative activities required some important man to exhort people to action.⁵ Levine's work and Gold often a Freudian psychological explanation for their personality patterns, an explanation which has been criticized by Hugo G. Yants and Gedamu Asfaha, who attribute these traits to the effects of feudal exploitation.⁶ However, he attempted to relate personality traits to the *zoba* system of land tenure, which entitles all descendants to a share of the ancestral land. Equal redistribution and therefore constant fear of losing one's land fostered suspicion of one's fellows, litigations, and the perception that loyalty to superiors "paid off" when it came to protecting one's own interests.⁷ Since land was not a concern as in the towns, people showed great eagerness to form self-help associations, which were no deemed threatening by the political authorities. Three types were the *qub*, a kind of savings club based on the desire to obtain a lump sum of money, the *wir*, designed to meet expenses in connection with death and funerals in times of trouble, and the *mohaser* to assist members with marriages, funerals, unemployment and so forth.⁸

In the mid-1950s an attempt by graduates to obtain official recognition for an HSI Secondary School Alumni Association failed.⁹ This was despite the fact that the prospects had been invited to be patrons of the society. Informal meetings continued, however, and in 1956 the active and outspoken L.S. graduate Guermame Norwey who a few years earlier instigated the attempted coup against Haile Selassie was chosen as the first president. According to Greenfield, Guermame hoped to turn the association into a private group to promote change. It was characterized by endless debates in which nothing tangible was achieved, internal fissions between graduate returnees from abroad and those from local institutions, and un-reasoning penitential by the humility branch.

The 1944 Student Council and College Authorities

In its first year UCAA had an elected Student Council popularly referred to as the Big Five.¹⁰ It was responsible for the organization of sports activities, social entertainment, the debating society, and various clubs. All students in charge of activities were members of the council.¹¹ Meetings were held in the presence of the Dean of Students.¹² His functions were mainly defined by the

Charter of the University College Article 28 (1) regulation and coordination of all extracurricular activities (2) legislation and enforcement of particular rules involving the conduct and behavior of students (3) supervision of discipline on and off campus and (4) the ordinary exemption of students from disciplinary rules and the punishment of minor infractions. He was a supervisor "in loco parentis," says Trudeau in his doctoral dissertation, who observes that this treatment of student affairs was uncommon in North America and was an "expression of a basic traditional philosophy of education" which was "strongly opposed by African students".¹⁵

During 1943-46 there was strong criticism of the Student Council for being the "assistant" and the "mouthpiece" of the dean.¹⁶ Autonomy for the council, the right of students to be responsible for their own affairs, became a demand. Students opposed the autocratic attitudes of the administration. Fantaye B. S. U., president of the council said students had to decide whether they wanted advisers and that there was no longer any "demand for people who support autocracy." Student organizations had to be "basically democratic."¹⁷

The student drive against interference from authorities is compared by Trudeau to the "winds of change" felt in the politics of African countries in general.¹⁸ Indeed victorious Africa was tangibly present in Ethiopian student affairs at this time. The Kenyan student Omogi Oding, was elected secretary general of the Student Council in autumn 1949¹⁹ which shows that Ethiopian students wanted to use schoolship students to lead their struggle with the Jesuit authorities. The foreign students were protected guests of the government, under jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, and in some of the frequent clashes between these students and the administration, government authorities intervened on their behalf.²⁰

Apart from the lone surveillance of the student press and council affairs dissatisfaction with the tight discipline of the Jesuits was related to a number of specific, often trivial, grievances. Dancing was forbidden, and students were referred to as "boys and girls." Roman Catholic teachers seemed to be preferred as department heads and the persons two of Normal Catholic students were thought to bear a special mark. As did the government and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, various Jesuits encouraged certain students to become informants.²¹ The Jesuits were extracuriously dedicated to their work, they lived on campus, knew the students personally, and more or less controlled their lives.²² Students also strongly resented courses in scholastic philosophy. "At the examinations we consciously spit to them the correct answers, the answers they wanted. That was for us a matter of survival," said a university teacher and former student. He knew of a student who had been threatened with expulsion if he again quoted Marx.²³

It is important to note that there was an open challenge to the Jesuits in

1949 at the Tafari Missionary School led by Melesse Wolde Mariam, later a well-known university teacher.¹⁴ The day's boycott of classes by the whole school and a letter of protest to the emperor were sparked by the publication of a group of students by a. the core of the incident was nationalism. Students felt isolated as Ethiopians, and their pride was hurt by the attitudes of the Jesuits.¹⁵ The episode shows that scholarship students were not the first to teach the Ethiopians to confront the Jesuits.¹⁶

In late January 1960, the Student Council wrote to the college authorities condemning "the long lasting encroachments on its rights, and asserted the right to be independent in its deliberations from the presence of the dean."¹⁷ It is probably more than a coincidence that the East-West-Central African Study Seminar arranged by the Coordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students took place in Addis Ababa at this time. Thirty student leaders from over African countries came for the meeting, which sought to draw the role of students in emerging and independent Africa.¹⁸ A debating society topic in January was "should students participate in national and international politics?"¹⁹ The proposer in the debate were two officials of Co-Sec, the opponents two Ethiopian students. Voting after the debate showed 130 students in favor of the motion, 28 against. Co-Sec officials admitted in staff members of the college that they had organized the seminar in Addis Ababa to stir up some youths, especially among Ethiopian students.²⁰

Some Ethiopians members of the council were not happy about the letter to Omer such a challenge to the authority was more problematic than for those who, in their home land, had experienced European colonialism as the most important issue of their generation. The Ethiopians signed the letter reluctantly and they were afterward accused by a scholarship student of having been too eager to please and apologize to the authorities.²¹ An Ethiopian student suggested that it would be "advisable and democratic" to have a shadow council to supervise the activities of the Student Council and to "help our elected representatives from practicing undue actions against authoritaries."²² Some students had protested the letter by referring to the "mental and social background" of the Ethiopian people indicating that they did not feel the time was ripe for a challenge to authority.²³ Scholarship students thought their attitude belonged to nineteenth-century Europe.

According to *News and Views*, the reaction of the Jesuits, particularly the Dean of Students, was one of "great wisdom and foresight." They were commended for handling opposition better than in a similar case in Ghana.²⁴ Judges write about this as a necessary crisis which forced the college to treat students "in a less paternalistic spirit."²⁵ The discipline changed twice during 1960, which indicates care on the part of the administration. In February the Jesuit Guy Fox was replaced by the non-Catholic Richard Greenfield, and the office was enlarged with an Ethiopian assistant dean Corina Amare.²⁶

President Maita of UCAA gave Greenfield a message from the emperor "You are to teach three things. Discipline, discipline and discipline."³⁷

In December Greenfield was replaced by Cirrus Amare after an incident which again brought into focus the question of the autonomy of the Student Council. On its inaugural flight to West Africa, Ethiopian Airlines offered two seats to students from UCAA. The dean selected them, and the Student Council protested that its role had been usurped.³⁸ There were tumultuous meetings and emotional outbursts, the resignation of the dean was demanded, and under pressure the two students renounced their seats. Scholarship students strongly supported the principles put forward but denounced the "irrational" and "immature" meetings; they also complained that the Student Council had not challenged the charter of the UCAA which gave the dean such wide powers and thus sought change by "constitutional means."³⁹ The *New and Views* editor, however, wrote that students were trying to "live ahead of time" and questioned whether they were actually "psychologically awakened" or only inspired by others.⁴⁰ The dean resigned under pressure from the administration.⁴¹ The outcome of this controversy was a student demand for autonomy.⁴²

The immediate purpose of the demand was to instigate reforms in the daily life of the students. Assessing the achievements of the council at the end of 1959-1960, the secretary stated: "Gone are the days when members of Yohannes Hall used to be forced to bed by 10 p.m. sharp. Gone are the days when the College ladies never had the right...of going to the library after supper." The days also had passed when "whistling in the campus was a grave offence" and when students were chastized for leaving the campus after 7 p.m.⁴³ The degree of staff interference in student activities decreased as advisers were replaced by self-management. The deans could no longer appoint coaches for students' teams or select advisers for their clubs. The result, according to Trudeau, was a transitional period in which many clubs stopped functioning.⁴⁴

A stated purpose of council autonomy was to raise the level of student government to an acceptable international level.⁴⁵ By 1960 contact had been established with the international student movement. Ethiopian representatives had attended pan African student conferences in Uganda (1957) and Sierra Leone (1959) and the 6th International Student Conference in Peru (1959). Representatives of international student organizations had also visited Ethiopia, as had student leaders from other African countries.⁴⁶ The scholarship students considered the training of future political leaders a reason for raising the level of student government,⁴⁷ and they even pushed for formation of a national union of Ethiopian students. Student consciousness undoubtedly was stirred by the Kenyan student Omogi Ogel's challenging and almost insouciant statement that a mere "sports council" such as the UCAA Student Council could

hardly be capable of creating a national union, since even drafting its own constitution had proved to be an "interminable postponement."⁴⁸

A National Union

The first plans for a national union of Ethiopian students were made in 1959. In February Hagos Gebre Yeshu attended the 8th International Students Conference in Peru,⁴⁹ and upon return he contacted the other colleges about the "possible establishment" of an Ethiopian student union.⁵⁰ After visits to the Agricultural College at Allemaya and the Public Health College at Gondar,⁵¹ Hagos met with the student councils of the Building and Engineering colleges. In June the presidents of all five student councils met in Addis Ababa with Hagos as chairman.⁵² According to the *UCAA Newsletter*, the purpose of the proposed union was to facilitate the representation of Ethiopian students in the International Union of Students. The presidents drafted a tentative constitution to be submitted to their respective student bodies for discussion.

From *News and Views* it seems clear that the UCAA students intended to take the lead in the planned national union.⁵³ They numbered almost as many as all the other colleges put together.⁵⁴ The UCAA Student Council drafted a constitution which three other councils discussed before the end of the academic year,⁵⁵ but the distances to Allemaya and Gondar prevented negotiations on the formation of the union. Two more meetings with the student council presidents at Allemaya took place in autumn 1960.⁵⁶ At this time the students also contacted the Ministry of the Interior to obtain recognition for a national union of students.⁵⁷ These activities came to a temporary halt in the wake of the attempted coup in December 1960.

The Debating Society

The rising level of activity was also reflected in the increasingly popular meetings of the debating society. For several years there had been little student participation;⁵⁸ there were no votes for or against the motions presented, and staff members awarded points. By the late 1950s voting took place, but students still seemed to have little confidence in themselves as debaters, and they tended to rely on staff members or guest speakers. In this sphere also the scholarship students wanted independence.⁵⁹ Some of them were very interested in debating, and their oratory, also revealed in election speeches, was much admired.⁶⁰

Because freedom of expression was generally lacking in society, many high-ranking government officials came to the UCAA debates, and there was unusual activity during 1959-1960 under the leadership of Samuel Allemayehu and

later Gebeyehu Fikru.⁴¹ In December 1959 a panel discussion was held to which Minister of Foreign Affairs Yilma Dereje, Minister of Public Health Abebe Reha, Vice-Minister of Education Lij Endalkachew Makonnen, and members of parliament were invited to speak. An impressive array of subjects were touched upon: "The Social, Economic, Educational, Foreign Relations, Public Health and Legislative Developments in Ethiopia."⁴² The college paper said it was a "complete success" and that the value of such discussions was "to awaken the leaders of tomorrow to the needs of the country."⁴³ Another topic was "How best to remedy the social abuses in the country."⁴⁴ A student panel took up such topics as public housing, beggary, movies, sensational magazines, bribery in courts and police, bad nutrition and prejudice against manual labor. Two other debuting society topics indicate student interests: "College regulations are intolerable limitations on the rights of students,"⁴⁵ and "There should be freedom of speech."⁴⁶ As occasional concern took up the problem of whether Ethiopian youth should continue to receive free education,⁴⁷ there was a clear tendency to discuss subjects concretely related to Ethiopian society.

Student Consciousness before December 1960

In the last couple of years before the attempted coup d'etat considerable development took place in student activity at UCRA. The student press dealt with a number of basic problems related to expression of opinion. Article 41 of the 1955 Constitution stated: "Freedom of speech and of the press is guaranteed throughout the Empire, in accordance with the law." Students demanded that it be the guiding principle for their paper and rejected the wide powers given in the UCRA charter to the Dean of Students.⁴⁸ The fact that when HSIJ was formed its charter omitted the article on the "Prefect of Discipline" indicated that substantial and successful student opposition had taken place. The Student Council no longer met under the auspices of the Dean of Students and the formation of a national union of students was under way. There was a cautious challenge to authority, but it is important to stress that its target was the college administration, not the Ethiopian government. If election speeches "in the various offices within the Student Council caused criticism, it was directed at the college authorities."⁴⁹ Yet the winds of change from other African countries was beginning to be felt, the seed of impatience had been planted, and a new belief in action to obtain reform was taking hold.

Scholarship students participated actively and proactively in shaping ideas concerning press and student government and a few were even elected to council offices by Ethiopian students who wanted them to push through their demands. The core of students who then had connections with the HSI Secondary School Marmal group would later say that the scholarship students had little influence on the growth of political consciousness at UCRA. They

would stress that the foreigners were used as front-liners by the Ethiopians, who knew that no serious repercussions could reach the guants of the government.⁷⁰ Others, among them former student leaders,⁷¹ readily admit indebtedness to their fellow Africans, as reflected in the following comments: "The scholarship students were very poor before those days our parents concerned the way our eggs were fried."⁷²

Our recent history has a lot to do with the coming of these students, anyone who denies this has I know that certain people want to tell me if this place did not need these students to raise them up. The truth is that at that time we had an idea of the real content of the freedom fight. Ethiopia was a closed country we did not get in touch with the writings of Kwame Nkrumah, Gamal Nkrumah or any books on Haile Robert's world or his kind interesting. Our debates were very formal, very farfetched, removed from reality. Our books were few and at least fifty years old. Dennis Ikene, Robert Okiki, Owoji, Caleb Kape, Ikeda, Samuel Achebe, George Magoha were our classmate. They were used to fighting criticism challenge about the very extremely excited about them. The first year they were far far ahead of us, wrote and spoke fluently better English. They were schooled in ideologies, knew about the do and don't, we had never heard of such things. They constantly challenged the Jesuits. We were somewhat bitter about them. In the third year we developed their Policy to combat struggle started definitely with the African students.⁷³

The Ethiopians soon understood that o the Jesuit administration the foreign students represented an uncontrollable element whose effect the priests tried to minimize by deliberately playing on the differences between the Ethiopians and the other Africans. The results often confronted the scholarship students with what they had read in the news or that occasion revealing that some Ethiopian students reported on them.⁷⁴ The college administration understandably, must have feared the scholarship students at odds to white authority figures. In their home countries the students had usually known white as colonial masters, and to some extent they transferred racial feelings heightened during the independence struggle to the LCAA administration. A longtime faculty member wrote about the scholarship students: To a certain degree they set a tone of bitterness in looking at problems and brought with them a complex of distrusting authority.⁷⁵

Ethiopian students were aware out of the differences in attitude between themselves and the foreigners.⁷⁶ As it is cited by a student from China who left LCAA it was the case but she stressed that the influences were mutual. One of the great benefits of living in Ethiopia was a changed attitude toward authority. "I have acquired what had been lacking in my entire life: humility before my superior."⁷⁷ Despite this example it seems reasonable to conclude that the presence of students from other African countries exposed the Ethiopians to behavior completely different from what they were used to. Respect for and deference to authority were less strong among the foreigners and they

helped teach methods of "frontal assault on authority."⁷⁸ It is important to stress that the scholarship students' concern was not the Ethiopian government. Even if they barely disguised their disappointment with the political circumstances in Ethiopia, they were not prepared to raise open criticism of an African government.

Notes

- 1 Hesse 1970: 81, 121, and Greenfield 1965: 299
- 2 Greenfield 1965: 279, 280, 388
- 3 Revised Constitution of Ethiopia, *Negarit Gezira*, 4.1.1. 1955.
- 4 Seyoum Gebre Egziabher "The Development of Some Institutions," 1969: 31-33, 6, 54-55, 62
- 5 Levine, "Class Consciousness," 1966: 320.
- 6 Hoben, "Social Stratification in Traditional Amhara Society," 1970: 87-202
- Levine 1965: 86-88
- 7 The Oromo society, with its unique *gada* society of sociopolitical organization in which regular shifts of political power from one age group to the next was institutionalized, was originally more egalitarian than the Amhara. This can still be studied in a few places in the south (Diary from Konso Easter 1971). See Baxter, "Ethiopia's Unacknowledged Problem: The Oromo," 1978.
- 8 Hagos Gebre Yesus, Book Review 1966: 62-73 Cedamu Abraha, "Wax and Gold," 1967: 233-34
- 9 Pausewang, "The History of Land Tenure and Social Personality Development in Ethiopia," 1970.
- 10 Pankhurst and Endress Estete, "Self-help in Ethiopia," 1958. The Gurage seem to have been originators of these kinds of associations, but they were common in other ethnic groups as well as among employers of most institutions.
- 11 Greenfield 1965: 354-57
- 12 Trudeau 1964: 85 Trudeau was one of the French Canadian Jesuits teaching for many years in UCAA, N & P 30.10.1959
- 13 N & P 27.10.1960.
- 14 UC Calls 25.5.1951, LC 87, 29.1.1960.
- 15 Trudeau 1964: 84-85
- 16 N & P 12.2.1960, 27.10.1960.
- 17 N & P 24.6.1960.
- 18 Trudeau 1964: 86.
- 19 N & P 30.20.1959.
- 20 LC 83, 12.9.1972, LC 85, 3.10.1972
- 21 Greenfield 1965: 366-48, Greenfield was dean of students in 1960.
- 22 LC 93, 13.4.1973, LC 83, 12.9.1972.
- 23 LC 93, 13.4.1973.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 LC 94, 1.3.1973.
- 26 N & P 5.2.1960, 12.2.1960, 10.6.1960, 17.10.1960.
- 27 N & P 5.2.1960.
- 28 University College Journal No. 3, July 1960: 22-26.
- 29 N & P 5.2.1960.
- 30 Greenfield 1965: 369.

- 31 *N & V* 52 1960, 12.2 1960.
- 32 *N & V* 20.6.1960.
- 33 *N & V* 32 1960
- 34 *N & V* 52 1960. Editorial. 14.1 1960
- 35 Trudeau 1964-96. Trudeau's pages on the students in his thesis are generally unscientific, and give a more harmonious picture of relations in UCAA than Greenfield's book (1965).
- 36 *N & V* 19.2 1960
- 37 Greenfield 1965 369
- 38 *N & V* 10.1 1960; LC 76. 10.3 1972
- 39 *N & V* 10.11 1960 "The Art of Reason" by S. O. Tola and J. K. S. Tibamendo
- 40 *N & V* 10.11 1960 "Occupational Therapy" by Bessie Girma
- 41 LC 76. 30.5.1972
- 42 *N & V* 3.11 1960 "A Cry for a Constitution" by Gabriele Wondim-aggregation and Editorial, *N & V* 36 3.1961
- 43 *N & V* 10.6.1960 Letter by Omegi Olibo
- 44 Trudeau 1964 86
- 45 *N & V* 12.2 1960. 5.12 1960
- 46 UCAA NL 29.5 1959; University College Journal No. 3 July 1960 22
- 47 *N & V* 10.6 1960
- 48 Ibid
- 49 UCAA NL 23.4 1959
- 50 Ibid. and LC 84. 16.9 1972
- 51 UCAA NL 13.4 1959. 21.5.1959
- 52 UCAA NL 3.6 1959
- 53 *N & V* 27.1. 1959
- 54 Office of the Registrar, HSLT Enrollment Statistics 1963-69 Summerskill 1970 27
UCAA had 426 students in 1959
- 55 *N & V* 10.6 1960
- 56 *N & V* 1.12.1960. 9.12 1960
- 57 *N & V* 12.1960 4
- 58 LC 83. 12.9 1972
- 59 *N & V* 18.2 1959 letters from James Odaga and Robert Okoko, and *N & V* 24.12 1959, letters from Samuel Akenyayehu and Robert Okoko
- 60 LC 88. 29.1 1973
- 61 LC 85. 3.10. 1972
- 62 *N & V* 11.12.1959
- 63 *N & V* 18.12.1959
- 64 *N & V* 4.3 1960.
- 65 *N & V* 18.3 1960
- 66 *N & V* 19.2 1960
- 67 *N & V* 4.3.1960.
- 68 General Notice No. 185 of 1954, Article 28, *Nigerian Gazette*, 1954.
- 69 LC 97. 21.3.1973
- 70 LC 75. 29.4.1972.
- 71 *N & V* 21.3 1966 9-10, "The University Student Then and Now" by Alphonse Demoz, and RFA 6.11 1969, Interview with Dr. Nogunir Ayala.
- 72 LC 106.7.11 1972
- 73 LC 76. 30.5 1972
- 74 LC 87. 29.1 1973

- 75 Chojnacki, "The Function of Students' Magazine," 1967.5
- 76 *N & V* 12.2 1960, 20 5 1960, 20 6 1960 Editorial, 24 11 1960
- 77 *N & V* 29 12 1960 4
- 78 Greenfield 1965 357

2:3 The Students and the 1960 Coup D'Etat

An organizer of the abortive December 1960 coup was Girmame Neway, a graduate of HSI Secondary School with an M.A. in political science from Columbia University. In 1952 he became the second president of the newly formed Ethiopian Students Union in the United States.¹ His appeal to his fellows to unite in order to fulfill their "historic mission" to the nation and not to pursue narrow egoistic and individualistic interests also reached the Ethiopian students in Great Britain.² Girmame and his brother, Mengistu Neway, commander of the Imperial Ethiopian Bodyguard, planned to overthrow the government with a few accomplices. The background and detailed account of this extraordinary event in modern Ethiopian history has been presented in Richard Greenfield's book, *Ethiopia A New Political History*. Greenfield seems to have been remarkably close to the events, although here we are only concerned with the coup's relation to the college students in Addis Ababa.

The students had no role in planning the coup. Hardly any of them knew Girmame, except for a few who had been active in the Haile Sellassie I Secondary School Alumni Association. The students had only heard rumors about a dynamic subprovincial governor down in Wollamo and later Jijiga who dressed in khaki.³

The students at UCAA learned of the coup on Wednesday morning when, sitting in their classes, they heard loudspeakers in the street announcing that the crown prince would speak on the radio.⁴ They listened to news about the change of government and heard the proclamation read by the crown prince, later distributed on the campus. The full text was translated and printed in *News and Views*.

This is the voice of the Crown Prince of Ethiopia, Herod Azmatch Asfa Wossen. Declaration: The Ethiopian people have a history of more than 3000 years, but in this long history no progress was made in agriculture commerce or industry. The basis of government administration is law and it should have been used to safeguard the rights of the people, but instead it was used to gain personal ends and to oppress the people.

The Ethiopian people manifested patience, such patience as is unknown in any other nation, and they waited in the hope his betterment would come from day to day. Nevertheless, there is no nation which, in time, would not extricate ignorance from among its people and set aim at improving the standard of living. While the newly formed independent African nations are making progress Ethiopia is lagging behind, and this fact is now realized. Ethiopia has always been lulled by vain promises. This realization resulted during the past two years, in an active movement among farmers, merchants, government officials, the armed forces, and the educated class. Many attempts have been made to destroy this movement but these attempts failed to keep the determined Ethiopian nation in harm's way. It is due to this determination that today the people's movement assumes power to emancipate the nation and open a new era of progress.

Up to today the obstacles to the nation were only a few people who pursued their own selfish and personal ends by dividing the nation and vying for power. Realizing this, I have heartily agreed to serve the nation as a salaried official.

The newly formed Ethiopian government is supplied by myself, the armed forces, the educated students, and the Ethiopian people, and as such the appointments and distribution is made by this new government to be valid and effective.

Student leaders from all colleges in Addis Ababa were called to the head quarters of the imperial guard in the afternoon.⁵ Teshome Habte Gabriel and Shibre Seifu went from the UCAA.⁶ The students were impressed with Mengistu Neway. One of them recalled "I felt then strongly that he was really risking his life. He was extremely nice, too nice for the role he was playing. I felt he had to do something desperate. It was a relief for us to hear him say that most of the 17 ministers he had captive were like, sucking the blood of the Ethiopian society and a burden to the country."⁷ On a table behind Mengistu lay dried leftovers of dinner. Mengistu commented "These pieces of dry bread were served last night to some of those privileged in order to draw their attention to the kind of life led by the average Ethiopian under their administration. Of course they could not eat it." The student is felt convinced that he was the champion of a noble cause. He spoke about the deteriorating economic and social conditions of the people, about the gross injustices in society. He asked the students not to misunderstand the motives of those who tried to overthrow the government, they did not do it for self-enhancement but in the "wider interests of all."⁸ He stressed that as a commander of the guard he could get what he wanted—"a car, a villa, furniture and servants."⁹ The students told Mengistu that the intellectuals must, by

heard, and he "gave us a feeling that somehow, distantly we would be able to participate."⁹ The students were asked to demonstrate on behalf of the new government.

At UCAA the Student Council arranged a meeting of the student body, although the scholarship students decided not to be present. Former students seem to remember these particular events very clearly, and most prominent in their memory is the students' bewilderment:

We didn't know what a coup d'état was—we had never demonstrated before, we hardly understood what it meant. At the meeting we were extremely surprised when a very quiet, well-known student poet got up and started to speak about what kind of government Ethiopia should have. Should it be a republic? And he said, "I think the Crown Prince should be the head of state, and that we should have a constitutional monarchy." It was all so fantastic, so dreamlike.¹⁰

Confidence in the coup's success was beyond any realistic assessment of the situation. A female student supposedly objected to the enthusiasm with the pertinent question, "what if they fail?" She was silenced. At the meeting two civilian employees of the imperial bodyguard were present to explain the new government's policy.¹¹

We felt happy and confident because we believed what they said that the bodyguard, the army and the airforce stood together. They came and spoke to us about our own ideas, however unexpressed there had been. It was like Jesus healing the cripple. We had the same feelings of joy the cripple must have had. The incredible a miracle had happened.¹²

We felt the country was oppressed and we disliked the government very much.¹³

The president of the Student Council, Teahome, said in his speech "Today marks a new era, the old regime has been overthrown and a new one established on behalf of the people." He said he had agreed to hold a peaceful demonstration in support of change. He clarified his position by saying that he was in favor of the new regime provided it was not "a military coup d'état."¹⁴ This remark exemplifies how bewildered the students felt. They were taken by surprise, projecting into the situation what they wished to happen. Shibu Seifu, the secretary, said "Now is the time to clear your throat and speak, to clear your minds and think. A time has come when you can feel you are above animals."

The evening and night were spent composing a marching song and preparing an announcement which was duplicated and distributed the following day and also read over the radio. The students took the sheets from their beds to paint large banners in English, Amharic, and Arabic. On Thursday morning most UCAA students lined up behind the Ethiopian flag, as did students in the Build-

ing and Engineering Colleges.¹⁵

Some appointed as marshals wore bright armbands and gave out songbooks and bundles of leaflets for distribution to the townfolk. The banners were unfurled and, with shining eyes revealing a happiness and confidence which observers confessed they had never witnessed, and which the broader patterns of events certainly did not justify, the student procession set off through the gates towards the town centre to meet with their fellows from other colleges. They sang loudly and well.

The following is a literal translation of the student song.

Wake up my compatriot, do not forget yourself
for you have a history behind you
End your slavery and renew your freedom today
Wake up, wake up. Do not forget yourself
Your dignity will be safeguarded and you will
be rewarded with eternal happiness
Wake up, wake up. Do not forget yourself

The banners said "Ethiopia is peacefully changed for us all" "For everyone-a brotherhood revolution", "You who have suffered under injustice-Wake up!" "Let us stand peacefully with the new Government of the People" The largest read "Our Goal is Equality, Brotherhood and Freedom"

The students admonished the people not to tolerate the old regime,¹⁶ and some of the leaders made speeches at various places in town.¹⁷ The populace was not antagonistic but confused. When the students entered the market area, people joined in the song, and many attached themselves to the procession. There was heavy demand for the leaflets. This manifesto distributed by the students compared Ethiopia to the rest of Africa "Countries and peoples which have recently become independent are leaving us behind in every respect. Ethiopia has a history and a tradition of over 3000 years, yet still she creeps behind, we say this because we have realised where we stand from our studies and our analysis of the present world". The manifesto further criticized the exploitation of the peasants and the corruption of the courts. It stressed the students' love of their country and indebtedness to the taxpayers.

The students marched to the southern part of town, to the headquarters of the 4th Division. They wanted to explain what the new government stood for, and persuade the soldiers to lay down their arms. They were stopped by officers and given ten minutes to turn back, else shooting would start. When they insisted on continuing, Ethiopian lecturers physically hurried back those in the forefront.¹⁸

Despite this evidence of military opposition to the coup, the students went ahead and published *News and Views*, dated December 16. This issue, apart from leaving no doubt about the student position, also contains an interview

with a spokesman for the Imperial Bodyguard about the background of the attempt to overthrow the government. The coup leaders believed the students would react favorably to their propaganda. "This movement occurred because of the excessive oppression of the Ethiopian people. This oppression by a few persons caused poor farm production, poor health and a general backwardness in every aspect among the people of Ethiopia. Those few persons had also restricted freedom of speech and freedom of press among the people."¹⁹

Fighting broke out and the students never distributed their issue of *News and Views*. It was burned when the outcome became clear, and its number was used again on the December 29 issue.²⁰ The only mention of the coup in the new issue was the news that students during these days had to prepare their own food and wash their own dishes; that the Dean of Arts, Edouard Trudeau slept on the veranda of Sahi Hall—the female students' dormitory, and that ICAA staff members, using their own cars, picked up dead and wounded in the streets and brought them to Menelik Hospital. Scholarship students had been evacuated to the British Embassy. Not one opinion was printed concerning the past week's dramatic happenings; nothing of the ensuing despair and anxiety can be found there.

When the army forces passed ICAA on their way to the Lord Garnet Palace to face the leaders of the coup, Greenfield relates: "A handful of frightened and despairing students waved half-heartedly but dispersed rapidly when a soldier called to his officer 'Why go further, sir? Our enemies are here!'"²¹ In the aftermath, when the rebels had killed their seventeen captives, all of them dignitaries close to Haile Selassie, the relatives of the dead and the people of Addis Ababa turned violently against the students. When groups of people entered the college to beat students,²² Dr Lucien Matte courageously talked to the crowds and convinced them to leave. The members of the student council were thought to be in real danger, and people demanded them flogged. Staff members tried to protect them and hid them until tempers cooled.²³ The students themselves were frightened, and those who had been in the forefront of the demonstration expected to be punished severely.

The president obliged the students to sign a letter of apology to the emperor as a condition for reentering the college.²⁴ It was addressed to "The Redeemer of Ethiopia, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie Emperor of Ethiopia." It expressed the students' surprise and horror at the coup, claimed that they had been forced to demonstrate and express certain opinions condemned a "traitorous act towards a parent who has brought us up, who is our father and our mother," and begged understanding and forgiveness. Many did not read the letter before they signed, and shame was the prevalent feeling among those who did. Some, even student leaders, have forgotten that such a letter was ever written and signed. In retrospect they say it was impossible, that the students would never have done it.²⁵

The daily newspaper did not appear for two weeks. The first imperial reaction came in the *Ethiopian Herald* of December 21, and the statement was full of sadness and mere indignation. The emperor enumerated his efforts to build up the educational system of Ethiopia. "We sent students abroad for higher training, expecting that they would return and devote their learning to the service of their nation. But men that are planted do not always bear the desired fruit, our trust have been betrayed."²⁶ He stated that university and other students who demonstrated had acted under force, a point repeated, emphasized by the *Ethiopian Herald* and *Addis Zemen*.²⁷ Students had been made "tools of wilful individuals against their will and desire."²⁸ The *Herald* stressed that the rebels had ruined Ethiopian society by creating a rift between the educated young and the people. The masses have wrongfully assumed that those who apparently lived well, and were pampered and sided with the rebels against the established regime.²⁹ Why the coup had been attempted was never questioned officially, although the mobilizing force was described as "clearly personal ambition and the lust for power."³⁰ There was said to be no support from any part of the population, and *Addis Zemen* presented an appealing and emotional description of how people, particularly students, resisted the rebels. "All boys were biting their lips, remembering the love and upbringing of their father the King of Kings and their eyes were full of tears and their faces were glowing with anger".³¹ *Time* and *Newweek* were banned in Ethiopia for some time because they had "grossly and maliciously" discredited the emperor's efforts to modernizing his country.³²

When the college students were called to the palace many refused to go fearing they would be shot.³³ Such were the feelings of anger, frustration, shame, and guilt at what had passed that quite a few of them deserved severe punishment. At the palace the emperor made a speech to the students and nothing more happened.³⁴ The *Herald* recorded this event as follows: "On the good proposal soon they marched to the Palace to tell His Imperial Majesty, the father of Ethiopian education and the Monarch of enlightenment and refinement, how they were compelled by the rebels or the behavior to demonstrate against their will and desire."³⁵

A speech made at this reception by a student from the College of Engineering was reported in detail in *Addis Zemen*: I expressed abundant loyalty, love, and admiration for His Imperial Majesty, the father of the Ethiopian people who brought up our minds, gave us the love of education which our fathers and mothers could not give us. Let us be permitted to express the happiness we feel for the fact that God has made You succeed in returning to Your great throne and to destroy our enemy who cast upon the Ethiopian people and Your Imperial Government.³⁶ In reply the emperor said he was convinced that they had been led astray. "Although your father and mother have borne you in flesh and God made you reach the stage of intellectual maturity--we fed you

the food of the mind." He said he regarded the past as if it had never happened and would continue to fulfill the role of a parent.

Of the several hundred arrested after the coup only three were brought to trial, among them Mergitu Hewey. His brother Girmawit, and Workneh Gebeyehu another co-leader had committed suicide.⁴⁰ Nothing of the trial was reported in Ethiopia. Rumors raced out about the dashing officer and man about-town who had become a dedicated revolutionary and who displayed buster's courage in court.⁴¹ When he was sentenced to death he refused to appeal. "I go to tell the other the seed we sown has taken root."⁴²

Three students were arrested after the coup,⁴³ two of whom were graduates of the Harar Military Academy. The third was the brother of Workneh Gebeyehu, one of the coup leaders, and he was expelled and ordered to live away from Addis Ababa.⁴⁴ Nothing more was heard of the two small students from the College of Agriculture and scholarship students raised the question in *News and News*.⁴⁵ Letters urged the Student Council "to take the responsibility of leadership" and help their fellow students out of detention. The matter was immediately taken up by the Student Council and when Haile Selassie visited UCRA a few weeks later, he consented to a petition that Mebrate be reinstated in the college.⁴⁶

Christopher Clapham has stressed that of the 400-500 university graduates then in Ethiopia, only one was actively committed to the coup. Despite its progressive aims it "cannot therefore be classed as a revolt by any class or class of younger graduates against an older and more conservative régime."⁴⁷ Clapham thinks however, as does Greenfield, that the other intellectuals supported the coup, though certainly many waited until they could be sure which side would win.⁴⁸ What else could they do? Is it imaginable that a few hundred intellectuals in a population of about twenty million could attempt to overthrow the government without the support of a substantial part of the armed forces?⁴⁹ Leeman in *Ethiopian Parade* states that the intellectuals played no part in the coup and that the students "turned themselves to putting revolutionary slogans."⁵⁰ It seems hard to place the student reaction in an Ethiopian perspective. Their Johnson riot was the first of its kind in the country's history. It was also not a matter of a fraction of the student body marching, which is the case in most student demonstrations, but was an enthusiastic action supported by nearly the whole college population in Addis

*It is here appropriate to underline the fact that UCRA, and later HSU, every year had a number of students enrolled from the armed forces.⁵¹ From the opening of the Harar Military Academy in 1935 until the early 1960s a line of forced recruitment existed among the academically superior twelfth-grade students.⁵² These students could also be sent abroad to study medicine, and in order to escape going to the military academy some took medicine as their career.) After graduation from the three-year military academy some were permitted to study in the university.

Ababa, and it left a lasting mark in the memory of those who took part.

Certainly the coup was inspired by ideas and values obtained through education which is why the students responded so enthusiastically. An examination of the students' reaction leaves one with three main reasons for their support. First, they wanted more influence for educated people in government affairs.⁴⁹ Second, they wanted civil constitutional rights, which had been the great issues of revolutions they had heard about in history classes.⁵⁰ When asked which subjects had influenced their thinking most the invariable answer from students or graduates was history. Third, the contact with other African students had brought home to the Ethiopians that their country, far from being the most developed in Africa, which government propaganda had led them to believe, was in fact lagging behind most others on the continent. The wider contacts had helped put Ethiopia and its development in proper perspective. Thus, the spirit of the African revolution was present in the students' reaction to the coup.

The coup came at a time when the students had just begun to organize and to agitate for freedom of the press. In their response to the coup students openly voiced resentment and dissatisfaction with the regime for the first time. During the few days of the coup the propaganda monopoly of the government had been broken, an attempt to face honestly the realities of Ethiopian society had been made, and some had challenged the all-powerful government. These facts had considerable effect on the growth of political consciousness in Ethiopia. The public square where Mengistu was hanged was later referred to as Mengistu Square, not only among students. Some Wingate Secondary School pupils used to visit a nearby graveyard, where they believed Mengistu was buried, and in 1969 student pamphlets expressed the view that the John F. Kennedy Library should be named after Gurarme Neway.

Notes

1. Greenfield 1965 337-38
2. Lion Club, No. 7, Summer 1954 38, "Strength for Unity" by Wedu Habte-Wolda, refers to an article of the same title by Gurarme in the *Ethiopian Student News* in North America
3. LC 76, 30.5 1972; LC 77, 19.6.1972.
4. N&V 16.12.1960.
5. Greenfield 1965 404, LC 76, 30.5 1972
6. LC 76, 30.5 1972; LC 81, 4.6.1972
7. LC 76, 30.5 1972
8. Greenfield 1965 405.
9. LC 76, 30.5 1972
10. LC 81, 4.6.1972
11. N&V 16.12.1960
12. LC 77, 19.6.1972

13. LC 76 30.5 1912
14. *N & V* 16.12 1960.
15. The following information is from Greenfield 1965 4, 4-18 when other sources are not mentioned
16. *N & V* 16.12 1960.
17. LC 76, 30.5 1972
18. LC 94. 1 § 1973, and Greenfield 1965 416
19. *N & V* 16.12 1960
20. Five copies were removed by a Jesuit teacher without the students' knowledge (Greenfield 1965 491), and a copy is in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies.
21. Greenfield 1965 428
22. LC 77, 19.6 1972, and Greenfield 1965 107
23. LC 76, 30.5 1972
24. Greenfield 1965 439
25. LC 77, 19.6 1972
26. *SH* 21.12.1960.
27. *SH* 29.12.1960; and *AZ Tahlus* 22 1959 (31.12.1960).
28. Editorial, *EH* 3.1 .961
29. *SH* 29.12.1960
30. The emperor is quoted in *EH* 21.12.1960; and Editorial, "Grave Consequences Averted," *EH* 29.2 1960
31. *AZ Tahlus* 22, 1959 (31.12.1960)
32. *SH* 29.12.1960.
33. Greenfield 1965 439.
34. LC 76, 30.5 1972, LC 77, 19.6 1972
35. Editorial, *EH* 3.1 .961
36. *AZ Tahlus* 24, 1959 (2.1.1961)
37. Ibid
38. Greenfield 1965 434 35
39. Jeanne Contini, "The Winds of Change and the Lion of Judah, 1961-31
40. Greenfield 1965 450.
41. They were Lt. Bekete Segu, Lt. Mulugeta Melkuryia, and Mebrate Gobayehu (*N & V* 26.1.1961)
42. In 1967, 14 students came from the military academy, the bodyguard, the air force, or police. In 1970 16 came from the armed forces. They were enrolled in the Faculty of Arts, Law School or School of Social Work. Registrar's Office HSIL, *Enrollment Statistics, 1963-1969*, and *Admission Report, 1970-1971*.
43. LC 77, 19.6 1972, LC 103.16.3 .1973
44. *N & V* 3.1 1961, and 9.1 1964, "Three still in Detention" by Stanley Culhaci
45. *N & V* 16.3 1961, 30.3.1961
46. Clapham, "The Ethiopian Coup d'état of December 1960," 1968.500
47. Greenfield 1965 379 420, Clapham, "The Ethiopian Coup d'état," 1968 500.
48. Legman 1963 70.
49. Mengirtu Neway stressed in court that it had been the coup leaders' intention to give educated people more responsibility (Greenfield 1965 445), and this point must have been stressed when they asked for student support.
50. Significantly, in the early 1960s, when a teacher at the British Wingate School wrote a manuscript for a history book to be used in the secondary schools, he was asked by a Ministry of Education official to omit the French Revolution. The teacher declined, and the book was never published. (Communication from the teacher, University of Edinburgh, 1.5 1979.)

2:4 Breach of Imperial Protocol

There was a period of caution after the coup, reflected in the delay to act on behalf of the arrested students, postponement of work concerning the student union, the college paper's abstention from discussing the coup, and the debating society's refuge in safe topics.¹ The first subject after the dramatic events of December was, "That the Lady of Science makes a better wife than the Lady of Arts."² Government distrust of the students increased after the coup. Before the end of the academic year, Shibu Seifu and Gebeyehu Finissa were expelled, the first accused of theft and the second in connection with the annual Amharic oratorical contest.³ In the case of Shibu, students felt the accusation was a pretext to get rid of an outspoken and troublesome student, and together with Shibu's relatives they demanded a police investigation. As no theft could be proved, he was reinstated.

The Oratorical Contest, June 1961

At the annual Amharic oratorical contest in the Haile Sellassie Theater, seven contestants were to speak before the emperor and a public audience on "Our responsibilities and difficulties in harmonizing modernization with our cultural heritage." Nine days before the contest, the college paper announced that the emperor would be present.⁴ A formal invitation had been delivered by the president of the debating society to the private secretary of the Minister of Pen, after many vain attempts to reach the minister himself.

Before the finals, run-offs were held in the different colleges, and the contents of speeches leaked out and reached government circles. In the ultra-sensitive climate the speeches were considered too controversial. The emperor

did not come to the theater, either because he was advised not to do so or because he was purposely not reminded of the invitation. Afterward, the president of UCAA was called to the palace, and the outcome was the indefinite suspension of the president of the debating society, he was charged with insulting the emperor by publicizing on the general invitations that Haile Selassie would be present, whereas the emperor had not formally been invited. The Student Council promptly threatened a strike, and the administration promised that the case would be investigated by the board of governors. The president of the debating society was saved by the Minister of Pen's secretary, who acknowledged receipt of the invitation. Gebeyehu Firuse was then allowed to sit for exams before the new term started.

NUES Congress Resolutions

Efforts to continue the work for a National Union of Ethiopian Students (NUES) were taken up when a secretary from an international student organization visited UCAA in April 1961,⁵ and a student congress was convened. The first elected president was Mulu Bezzabeh from the College of Agriculture, Tadesse Tamrat and Shibu Seifu from UCAA were vice-president and secretary general.⁶ The congress decided to function temporarily until it was recognized by the government. The constitution of NUES was submitted to the Ministry of Interior and, upon request, amendments recommended by the ministry were submitted in December 1961.⁷ *News and Views* expected "speedy recognition of the Union," but this was never given. Impatient students blamed the official of NUES for inactivity and recommended "mobilization of public opinion in favour of its recognition."⁸

It proved difficult to obtain unity within NUES because of disagreements over the strength each college would have in the general assembly. It was the consistent policy of the colleges at Gondar and Aranya to refuse to be dominated by Addis Ababa. The UCAA students however, tended to point to their numerical strength and there were disagreements within the UCAA Student Council, which became the University College Union (UCU) in October 1961, over compromise to obtain the desired unity.⁹ The NUES Second Annual Congress had to be adjourned for two months because the UCU delegation staged a walk-out protesting the assembly's decision to give four votes to the two delegations from Gondar.¹⁰ The scramble for leadership in the national union on the part of the UCU, which disregarded the ideals of solidarity, was strongly criticized by individual students.¹¹ *News and Views* pleaded that students should not show their weakness and division to outside forces, "which might not be in favour of our standing together."¹²

A second congress of NUES was convened at the beginning of May 1962. It was characterized by three features—the union's engagement in international

student politics, involvement in national affairs, and difficulties in obtaining unity. It voted for affiliation with the International Union of Students¹³ and against foreign aggression in Cuba and Hungary.¹⁴ A nonalignment policy in the East-West conflict was thus established, as NLES already had connections with ISC, the International Students Conference, a largely western organization.

A *News and Views* editorial in connection with the second congress stated that students had partial responsibility for "reformation" of the country.¹⁵ In pursuit of this aim the congress passed about 100 resolutions on such matters as formation of labor unions and improvement of labor conditions in Ethiopia, freedom of associations in accordance with the Revised Constitution of 1955, freedom of the student press, and academic freedom.¹⁶

The Library Demonstration

In March 1962 UCU arranged a sit-down to protest the library's new policy of denying all but fourth-year students access to the stacks and requiring order forms for each book.¹⁷ The administration wanted to stop the loss of books,¹⁸ but UCU argued that free access encouraged students to read and attracted them to books much more effectively than did a closed system.¹⁹ The placards read "Closed Libraries Breed Closed Minds," "Down with the Closed Library System," and "Books are our Right."²⁰ One staff member was impressed by the "reasonable and orderly" demonstration, which he placed in the broader perspective of Ethiopian development: "It is the type of calm and conscientious action without which no stable state can be developed, and, as such, should be approved within and without the University."²¹ The sympathy and support of the staff appear to have been universal and the college paper called it a "family quarrel."²² A compromise was worked out in which the library extended open stack privileges to third-year students.^{23*}

The Reading of Poetry at College Day

On College Day the citizenry was invited to UCAA. Initially, the program mostly consisted of athletic competitions, speeches, the election of the "Best Man of the Year," and a talk by the president of the Student Council outlining

*The demonstration took place during Lent, and it was widely believed in town that the students were protesting the fasting food served in the college refectory.²⁴ The laws prescribed by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church are considered among the strictest in the world, with fasting required every Wednesday and Friday during the eight weeks before Easter.²⁵ Church and government had enforced these rigorous laws in the university, and it was no secret that large sections of the student body resented the compulsory fasting.²⁶ In the Ethiopian circumstances the library demonstration represented an indirect challenge to authority and its misinterpretation enhanced this impression.

student activities and organizations. Gradually cultural activities such as plays were added to the program.²⁷

The students often tried to show in humorous sketches how the reality of government diverged from the ideal, and the Ministry of the Interior sought to control the students when facing a public audience. Greenfield relates an occasion on which the Jesuits sent a copy of the Bible to a security official, who insisted on censoring a dramatic version of Job to be performed by the students.²⁸ In 1949 the ministry advised that no play was going to be staged and the students finally decided, reluctantly, that instead they would read poetry.²⁹

Poetry has an important place in traditional Amharic culture. Within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, oral poetry was a highly developed art composed in Ge'ez, depending for its effect on religious symbolism and the use of words and phrases which had two or more semantic layers. This formula called *mora-sa-waq*, "wax and gold," is also the most favored form in Amharic secular poetry. The distinction between good and ordinary poetry was determined by the number of words/phrases which carried double meaning and the extent to which the writer used subtle allusions and puns. The Amharic language has evolved numerous ambiguities and code like expressions, undoubtedly in response to rigid social and political conventions. Levine has noted that besides supplying humor and entertainment, Amharic poetry also "provides the one outlet for criticism of authority figures in a society which still controls every kind of overt expression toward authority, be it parental, religious or political. Thus it has been a safety valve for certain social tensions."³⁰

If poetry was severely censored, the subtle insult of authority was accepted. Although the secular schools did not teach Amharic poetry,³¹ students practiced the art on their own and poetry reading was an important part of social entertainment in the college. A poetry club had existed for many years, and students used to recite their rhymes on Saturday evenings in the dining hall.³² In the contest of May 1958 the judges noted that the poems showed a "shift from the old traditional ways of Amharic poetry both in technique and theme, and especially the latter."³³ In 1959 it was decided that the three best contestants in the poetry contest would read their poems on College Day in front of the Imperial Majesty. The occasion proved a great success and the emperor was so pleased that he asked the Ministry of Education to print and distribute the winning poem Legene Yeteshawork's "Man Is a Riddle."³⁴ From 1959 onward—as long as there was a College (later university) Day—the three poets of the year would recite their poetry and their printed work would be sold to the public during the program. The flowing Amharic poetry was a fitting climax to each college day.³⁵

Poetry reading on College Day in 1961, however, marked a turning point in student recitals. That year the winning poem was Tewodro Feyessa's "The Poor

Man Speaks.³⁴ A poor man sat under a tree on a Saturday afternoon recounting his life and thoughts. Through his story the distress and misery of large sections of the Ethiopian population were conveyed in a way no factual prose could do. The tone of the 44 lines is deeply pessimistic. In the searching, wondering speech of the poor man, unmistakable allusions are made to the rich taking advantage of the poor court verdicts for sale to the highest bidder, and bureaucracy hidden by nepotism, opportunism, and incompetence. There are several references to the fact that the poor and weak have no way of expressing their complaints to the authorities; that free expression is denied. The Arihane poetry of previous years had been more philosophical, it had contained social and political connotations, but not to the extent found in "The Poor Man Speaks." The event marked a break enough toward poetry dedicated to social criticism.

At E 30.50 each, Tarmu's poem quickly sold out, but it was copied and recopied and finally fetched as much as E 55.³⁵ It also reached the provinces, and the college paper reported that Tarmu Feyessa received letters from "all over the Empire" requesting copies.³⁶ It appeared clear that the students wanted to make use of College Day to convey their ideas and sentiments to the public. In a society with a strictly censored press, the poetry was a unique outlet for student feelings, since public interest in College Day was great in Addis Ababa. The football field of the Airst Kilo campus would be packed with more than 3,000-4,000 people, headed by the emperor and religious and political dignitaries. Looking back, former students and Ethiopian staff expressed great admiration and enthusiasm for the public recital. It was not so much poetic quality the audience expected but rather the thrill of hearing, or believing they heard political criticism.³⁷

After the 1961 College Day it was widely rumored that the emperor would not allow socially critical poetry to be read again.³⁸ Long before College Day 1962 UCU representatives were called by the Ministry of Pen to the palace, where several minutes were present. They demanded that all speeches, poems, and sketches to be performed on College Day be submitted beforehand to the Ministry of Pen, or else the emperor would not be present.³⁹ The matter was hotly discussed among the students. Poetry reading had become the most exciting part of the program, and the general choice was to honor the emperor rather than the poetry since it was presumed that if Haile Selassie appeared the authorities would require that the poems be omitted. It is not clear, however, whether this decision was taken in a general assembly of students or by the UCU executive council alone. A letter informed the board of governors that the students would not submit the content of the College Day program for inspection. The emperor, also the chancellor of the university did not attend that year, nor in subsequent years,⁴⁰ and the high ranking officials who used to accompany him also stayed away. Their absence dimmed the thrill of having

student poetry full of veiled hidden criticism of the state of affairs read in front of the people responsible for government policy

During College Day in 1942, the speech of the president of the UCL drew special attention to student support of the literacy campaign. Significantly, he suggested that Ethiopians should now get something in return for their payment of the education tax.⁴³ It was a challenge to the regime to stress the taxpayer's role in sustaining government activities and their right to social services. The government's image, as created by the mass media, was that of giving abundantly from its imperial resources, whereas the common people saw the government as demanding much but giving little in return.⁴⁴ Encouraging people to think they legitimately could demand services from the government, was considered by some a radical view.

In the public poetry recitation in 1967 the three winning poems took the form of questioning. "Life" by Yilma Kebede states that education has not satisfied the curiosity of man, who turns everywhere to question the meaning of life. In Melaku Tegegne's "The One Who Fell in the Field" (that is, in combat), the poet stands at the grave of a fallen soldier and asks about his life on earth and the quality of life beyond the grave. The longest poem of about 500 lines was Yohannes Admas's "Please Be Asked" (or "Please Let Me Ask You"). Here the poet also asks the most detailed questions about conditions in the Empire of Death, revealing clearly and unambiguously the poet's assessment of the quality of life and government in the Empire of Ethiopia. From the point of view of those with political and economic power, these poems particularly that of Yohannes Admas, showed a disturbing determination to expose the stifling effects of the suppression of thought and ideas, the suffering of the underprivileged and the exploitation of men by men.

The poet generally introduced the plight of the tenant farmer who gave huge shares of the produce of his labor to his landlord a theme which was to become central in student agitations later in the 1960s. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church also had good reason to be offended by the poetry of 1962 which expressed broad criticism of the church. The interrogative form itself was considered an insult by a church which above all else favored bare minimum acceptance. When the interrogation concerned such basic dogmas as the nature of heaven and hell, the existence or eternity, free or punishment and eternal life it became heresy.⁴⁵ "What does God look like?" This inauspiciously questioned the prevailing notion that God was white. Asking what kind of church existed beyond the grave Indirectly pointed out what students felt were characteristics of the Ethiopian Church. These included innumerable priests like worms of locusts, who made a virtue of ignorance and avarice who could never answer a question but were ready to condemn the one who asked, quoting irrelevant passages from the Bible. They taught moral behavior they did not themselves practice mixing the divine spirit with drink whenever they could. On 140

holidays of the year they asked peasants to leave their work and bring food and drink to the churches, and on 180 days they asked people to fast, that was the essence of their preaching. Holidays and fasting were weapons the church used to trap people into lawlessness, submission, and poverty. The state was there to protect these practices.⁴⁶

The outcome of the 1962 College Day was expulsion of the five Ethiopian members of the UCU executive council, but not the three scholarship student members. The three poets were suspended for a year, and the three Ethiopian staff members who had been judges in the poetry contest, Alemayehu Mogen Abraham Demoz, and Sergew Hubte Selassie were assessed heavy fines for letting such poetry be read, although they never paid.⁴⁷ These decisions were made known at the end of July, during vacation and more than two months after the recitation, probably to prevent a repetition of the student action of the previous year which had forced the reversal of decisions taken by the administration. The actions were taken in the name of the board of governors without it seems prior consultation with other university authorities.⁴⁸ The reasons cited in *News and Views* were that the UCU council had failed to "give satisfactory reply to certain protocol questions," and they had disobeyed a direct order from the chairman of the board of governors.⁴⁹ The official reasons were "breach of Imperial Protocol" and "abuse of academic freedom."⁵⁰ The government also took another disciplinary action.

Abolition of the Boarding System

In July 1962 just before students were to leave for vacation the new president of the university Dr. Kassa Wde Mariam announced that boarding would stop in UCRAA as of September 1962.⁵¹ He cited economic reasons. The university wanted to increase the number of students, and the boarding system was expensive. He also said that students should live among the people to avoid alienation from their society and to share their knowledge with the people around them. Dr. Kassa did not say how the university would provide for the students in the future, except that no one would be deprived of university education because of poverty. The students were shocked and deeply disappointed. The decision left a deep mark in the collective student memory, and it was later referred to repeatedly in *News and Views* and in the minutes of SAC meetings as a root cause of almost all the difficulties students faced in the university. Two days after the announcement, students marched to the palace behind the Ethiopian flag to read a petition in front of the emperor.⁵² High-ranking officials of the army, the bodyguard, and the ministries were present, and a furious verbal argument between students and these people took place.⁵³

The petition read by NJES vice president Tadese Temeat, focused on the practical difficulties students would encounter living outside the university

Rooms with water, electricity and bathroom facilities, amenities to which they had become accustomed, were not obtainable. It would be difficult to use the library in the evenings, owing to the unsafe Addis Ababa streets. It was stressed that the students were development assets, and therefore the best conditions for learning should be provided.⁵⁴

Hailé Selassie explained again the economic reasons for closing the dormitories and pointed out that the decision was a logical continuation of a policy started much earlier. He reminded his audience of all his efforts to keep students in school, and of how they used to run away at every opportunity. Providing boarding at the elementary schools had been necessary in order to ensure students were educated, a policy also applied when secondary schools were opened. When high schools opened in the provinces, however, and an increasing number of students attended, it became economically impossible to continue the boarding system. The same logic applied to the university. Enrollment had to increase, and consequently boarding had to end. The emperor's speech revealed considerable displeasure, and he accused the students of advising against increased numbers so that they alone could have all the benefits. "Do you think only of yourselves or do you also think of your country? If We had wanted to weaken education, why did We give Our house and Our Father's, and to the university?"⁵⁵ Hailé Selassie refused to rescind the decision and when further arguments were attempted, the emperor asked the students to leave. "You are rude."⁵⁶ Unsuccessful protests also were made by the University Alumni Association.⁵⁷

Students believed the loss of boarding facilities was punishment for the increasing incidents of student opposition and reassertion within UCAA and toward the government.⁵⁸ Indeed, it seems safe to conclude the decision was political, especially since it only affected UCAA. The dormitories there remained empty for several years, and the new system proved more expensive to the government as it had to provide E \$20 per month for each student's lodging off campus. The new policy revealed that UCAA students were in the process of becoming a political force in Ethiopia.

Summary

By 1962 UCAA students were making progress toward a national student union. Contacts had been made with international student organizations, and numerous recommendations had been presented to the government. They had established a regular paper for which they demanded freedom of expression and they had shown a capacity for collective action to resist punitive measures. Even though the official student paper showed little criticism of social and political circumstances in Ethiopia, student poetry conveyed a message of deep disaffection which was bound to offend the authority which controlled itself.

divinely appointed.⁵⁹ Student leaders, backed by a general consensus, had openly defied government orders given through the board of governors. Clearly, something had to be done about 900 students living together on one campus, with all the opportunities that presented for organization and discussion.

Student confidence in their own capacity to act had increased partly due to developments at the administrative level of the university. With rapidly increasing numbers of students and staff and with increasing U.S. aid to the university, the administrative grip of the French-Canadian Jesuits loosened, and paternalistic authoritarianism in student affairs began to give way to a more relaxed, encouraging attitude on the part of other faculty members.⁶⁰ The American, Harold Bentley, who became the first president of HSIU, was idealistic, outspoken, impatient, and popular with the students. He was concerned about the structure of the university and, while working on its charter, gave lectures to the students explaining how an autonomous and vigorous university could be an instrument for social change. Bentley did not conceal from the students his displeasure with the government. He eventually clashed with political authorities and left Ethiopia abruptly in summer 1962, probably because the powers granted in the HSIU charter would effectively prevent the development of the kind of university envisioned by him and others who left at about the same time.⁶¹ Government reaction to student affairs, especially in 1962, and the appointment of the emperor's grandson-in-law, Kassa Wolde Mariam, as president of the university, clearly show that the government did not intend to let developments get out of control.

Notes

1. *N & V* 3 1961, 6.4.1961
2. *N & V* 5 1 1961
3. LC76, 30.5 1972 LC 77, 19 6.1972
4. *N & V* 15.6.1961
5. Coordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students, Leiden, Netherlands; and *N & V* 20.4.1961
6. *N & V* 28.9 1961
7. *N & V* 16.11 1961, 14.12 1961. 6. Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain this constitution.
8. Editorial, *CETSM* 1 4.1962; *N & V* 29.3.1962 10
9. *N & V* 8.3.1962, "An Outstanding Student Leader Leaves College" by Shibre Seifu, about Teshome Habto Gabrehi's attempts to persuade the UCAA students to yield in order to obtain unity.
10. *N & V* 10.5 1962.
11. *N & V* 17.5 1962 4, "Who was responsible?" by Melrose Ayscough and Maile Fida.
12. Editorial, Unity of NUES at Stake, *N & V* 10.5.1962
13. Headquarters in Prague.
14. Editorial, *N & V* 10.5 1962.
15. Editorial *N & V* 19.4 1962

- 16 Editorial, *N & V* 10.5.1962
- 17 Editorial, *N & V* 8.3.1962.
- 18 *N & V* 12.9.1962.
- 19 Ibid
- 20 *N & V* 8.3.1962
- 21 Ibid., p. 9
- 22 *N & V* 21.3.1966, Editorial, *N & V* 3.1962.
- 23 *N & V* 22.3.1962 2.
- 24 LC 92, 4.4.1973
- 25 Levine 1965 232
- 26 Greenfield 1965 37-38
- 27 AZ Gibbet 15 1953 (23.5.1961)
- 28 Greenfield 1965 266
- 29 LC 87 29.1.1973
- 30 Levine 1965 5.9.1965, 271 9
- 31 LC 93, 13.4.1973
- 32 LC 87, 29.1.1973
- 33 UC44 NL 15.1958.
- 34 UC44 NL 19.3.1959.
- 35 *N & V* 10.5.1963 10 LC 93, 13.4.1973 LC 105, 28.3.1973
- 36 *N & V* 8.6.1961 see Student Poetry .961 No. 2 Yohannes Admasu, university lecturer and former student poet. kindly instructed me for several hours on the subject of student poetry.
- 37 LC 76.30.5.1972.
- 38 *N & V* 8.6.1961
- 39 LC 105, 28.3.1973
- 40 LC 92, 4.4.1973
- 41 LC 77, 19.6.1972
- 42 *N & V* 14.6.1962
- 43 LC 77, 19.6.1972
- 44 Weisleder 1965 43.
- 45 Melaku Tegagne, "The One Who Fell in the Field," Student Poetry 1962.
- 46 Yohannes Admasu, "Please, Be Asked," Student poetry .962
- 47 *N & V* 9.11.1962 2, interview with Principal John Macfarlane, and LC 105, 28.3.1973.
- 48 LC 105, 28.3.1973.
- 49 *N & V* 9.11.1962 2. Macfarlane interview.
- 50 *N & V* 18.1.1963 2
- 51 AZ See 26, .954 (3.7.1962); living conditions of students were dealt with in Part One.
- 52 AZ See 28, 1954 (5.7.1962).
- 53 LC 76.30.5.1972 LC 91, 4.4.1973
- 54 Ibid LC 77, 19.6.1972
- 55 AZ See 28, 1954 (5.7.1962).
- 56 LC 92, 4.4.1973.
- 57 Greenfield 965 456, LC 75, 29.5.1972.
- 58 LC 92, 4.4.1973, LC 76, 30.5.1972; LC 77, 19.6.1972; Greenfield 1965 37, *N & V* 28.3.1966, "My Second Year in College" by Eshetu Chole.
- 59 Revised Constitution of Ethiopia, Article 4 *Negarit Gazeta* 4.11.1955
- 60 LC 91, 4.4.1973, LC 83, 4.4.1973.
- 61 Greenfield 965 456 LC 83, 4.4.1973, Levine 1965 216-17

Part III
Demand for Participation
1962-1966

3:1 Policy Statement on Student Affairs

At the beginning of academic year 1962-1963, UCAA students were scattered in living quarters outside the campus, and eight union leaders and poets had not been allowed to continue their studies. A further deterrent to activities was the Policy Statement on Student Affairs, prepared by the Dean of Students and approved by the president within a few weeks after opening.¹ Having experienced student independence of action not compatible with the prevailing political circumstances, the university reinstated the former practice of supervision of student activities by faculty members and also attempted to define the concept of academic freedom, which had become a favorite student demand. The statement was clearly based on views expressed in a speech by the emperor and chancellor the previous July.² He stated that academic freedom was essential to acquire "true knowledge," but used for any other aim, such freedom would be harmful rather than useful. Its use "to divide a people struggling to improve its life cannot possibly be considered as a valid exercise of academic freedom." When a student or teacher was speaking "within the privacy of the academic community he should be guaranteed the right to speak fully and clearly." However, when speaking in public, students or teachers would be "subject to the laws of the country."

The policy statement was strikingly unambiguous compared to other statements on the same matter. Student papers would be allowed to publish articles of "constructive criticism" on student affairs and the university provided they met with the approval of the adviser of the paper.³ There "should not be any article or editorial criticising the national government or derogatory to any particular religion." Articles concerning "the society as a whole" could be published if they were devoted to a "sincere and objective search for truth."

When President Kawa Woldé Mariam later explained that there had to be limits to academic freedom on a college campus, he declined to define them. Echoing the emperor's speech he said "A nation must not permit itself to be divided in the name of academic freedom. Freedom of speech must be limited by the needs of national unity. We want to develop a university which will contribute to the national welfare."⁸

Later official university statements concerning the freedom of student speech were paradoxical, revealing the embarrassment of those faculty members who felt squeezed between the demands of the students and the regulations of the MSTRU board of governors. Rules about what could be published in a student paper were not given, except that the adviser was to be consulted on "controversial articles."⁹ The university would protect the students' right to freedom of writing "to the full extent these rights are protected by law."¹⁰ Nothing was said about the problems this would involve in the 1955 Constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech and press throughout the empire "in accordance with the law."¹¹ The last phrase meant that the article was subject to a number of restrictions in the Penal Code which in reality repealed the freedom given in the Constitution.¹²

In 1963, a new constitution was drawn up for *News and Views* by a student committee with the adviser as chairman; the latter was given "veto power" over material which he deemed outside the framework of "academic rights and responsibilities" accorded the university by the board of governors.¹³ The student union wanted to limit the power of the adviser to "help run a newspaper of high standard within the limits of academic freedom,"¹⁴ and they wanted the adviser chosen by an elected student editorial board. These demands were met, but the veto power was transferred to the Dean of Students.¹⁵

In 1964 the editorial board of *News and Views* no longer comprised students from the journalism course, but instead elected individuals less inclined to comply with university regulations.¹⁶ In December the adviser resigned because material had been published against his recommendations.¹⁷ His letter of resignation stated he had also advised "most strongly" against an elected editorial board because he believed it would be irresponsible.

When the *News and Views* editor Kifle Abebe was suspended for disobeying a censorship order in mid 1964,¹⁸ the students staged a protest strike. President Kawa was to speak to the students in Ras Makonnen Hall, but they walked out. In two elections for editor held at the end of 1964 and the beginning of 1965, the nominated Ethiopian students declined to stand, and a Tanzanian, Hussein Muhammed Ali, became editor and remained so until the last issue of *News and Views*, June 1, 1965.¹⁹ Clearly, Ethiopians preferred to stay out of trouble with the university authorities.

From 1959 until March 1965 *News and Views* was published fairly regularly and, however much students and adviser argued concerning the limits on

student expression, the paper was not banned. The number of annual issues is a good measure of the increasing obstacles facing the student press and also of students' growing unwillingness to comply with faculty council legislation.¹⁶ During the academic years 1959-1960, 1960-1961, 1961-1962, 1962-1963, and 1963-1964, 3., 32, 30, 29, and 25 numbers were published. In 1964-1965 and 1965-1966, the last two years of publication, issues per year dropped to fewer than half that (13 and 10). In March 1965 after the "Land to the Tiller" demonstration, a breakthrough in the student movement, university authorities decided a much stricter supervision of student activities was needed,¹⁷ and the paper was stopped because students would not comply with the new regulations. After the 1966 demonstration, the board of governors ordered the suspension of all student publications.¹⁸

Plans for a Universitywide Student Paper

A perpetual problem within MSIU was the lack of communication and news, although the university's Office of Public Relations published a bulletin irregularly from March 1962.¹⁹ The paper was superficial, uninteresting, and unsubstantial, demonstrating the difficulty of establishing a functional press within the university's "limits of academic freedom."²⁰ One should not forget however, that the factors discouraging openness and free enquiry in general in Ethiopia were also at work within the university. Haile Woldemichael has noted: "The idea of 'mida'²¹ (secret or confidential) pervades the social value as well as the structure of Ethiopian institutions."²²

The university administration and faculty felt strongly that an integrated universitywide student newspaper of high quality should exist,²³ especially to temper the expression of student disaffection with social and political circumstances in their country. The planning for such a paper, which began in 1963, was definite to the extent that its charter and establishment were incorporated in the Faculty Council Legislation of November 1964, subsequently reprinted unchanged in the October 1967 legislation.²⁴ By the time of the revised legislation for student affairs in 1970, the university had dropped the idea of any kind of paper owing to the concurrent refusal of the students to cooperate.²⁵

Immediate student opposition to the idea arose because it seemed the intent was to replace the existing student publications with the universitywide paper.²⁶ *News and Views* was in a precarious position because it used the printing facilities of the university, although the administration tried to assure students that they would be allowed to continue their papers.²⁷ Because the charter of the universitywide paper had elaborate procedures to ensure student involvement and also university control through an appointed adviser, students were convinced the paper would serve the interests of the administration.²⁸ Opposition mounted because students felt the university should support their struggle

against a cultural background which encouraged passivity²⁷ and because, in their opinion, foreign teachers seemed to comply with the Ethiopian authoritarian tradition by regarding Ethiopian students as not measuring up to academic standards and therefore as needing to be tutored and led. Many in the conscious element of the student body believed it would be better to retain their own paper, however "crude, poorly edited and mimeographed," because it contained their own "idealism, beliefs and thoughts."²⁸

The Crocodile Society

Around 1963, a group of students labelled "crocodiles" had begun to study Marxism seriously. They were active in inciting opposition to all attempts at containment of student expression.²⁹ In fall 1964 a "non-aligned, non-sectarian, private society" called the Crocodile Society was established, its membership being "strictly based on cross-examination and dedication to its cause."³⁰ Apart from the study of Marxist-Leninist political thinking, its cause was criticism of selfish, uncommitted student attitudes toward the facts of Ethiopian life and of *News and Views* for its apolitical stand. The society's ultimate aim was a strong, radical, united student movement, and its name indicated its underground element, secrecy, and dangerous and unpredictable nature. Its members failed to keep their identities secret, and among the early members were Birhane Meske, Reda, Zeru Kihshen, Yohannes Sibhatu, and Gebru Gebre Wold. In the development of the student movement the society played an important pioneer role, and it was to a great extent responsible for the spread of leftist ideas. Most of the major breakthroughs were initiated by this group. It always tried to push the movement forward and in subsequent years the most politically active students were referred to as "crocs."

Notes

1. "Policy Statement on Student Affairs approved by the President on October 18, 1962," published in *N & V*, 31, 1962, Editorial, Crisis over Student Government, *N & V* 11 1961
2. *N & V* 11 1962 1.
3. "Policy Statement on Student Affairs."
4. *N & V*, 6.11 1962 2
5. HSIU University Statute on Student-University Relationships (undated 1964) & HSIU, University Statute on Academic Rank, Tenure, Salaries and Academic Responsibility Enacted by the Faculty Council on June 5, 1964.7
6. Statute on Student-University Relationships, 1964 5
7. Revised Constitution of Ethiopia, Article 41, *Negarit Gazette* 4 11 1955
8. The Penal Code Decree, *Negarit Gazette* 28 6, 1961, contains seven articles related to the "disturbance of public opinion."
9. *N & V*, 5 11 1963 3.

10. *N & V* 22.11.1963.
11. Statute on Student-University Relationships, 1964:6.
12. SAC Minutes 5.11.1964.
13. *N & V* 4.12.1964, letter to the editor, from Adviser W. N. Carter.
14. Greenfield 1965:174; LC 102, 27.1.1973. This was not reported in *N & V*.
15. *N & V* 11.1.1965.2, 3.3.1965.11.
16. *N & V* 22.11.1963:7.
17. *N & V* 8.3.1965; see chapter 3.
18. SAC Minutes 17.1.1967, see chapter 3.
19. Bulletin, Recent Activities and Events, December 1968, renamed *Recent Events and Activities*.
20. Halle Wolde Mikael, "The Lack of Psychic Mobility and its Implication for Nation Building," 1971:18.
21. *N & V* 25.10.1963; SAC agenda for meeting 17.12.1964.
22. Legislation of the Faculty Council of HSI University, November 13. 1964.46; and Consolidated Legislation of the HSI University, October 1967 105-12.
23. HSIU Faculty Council Legislation, Title V Student Affairs, 1970-1972..
24. *N & V* 25.10.1963, 27.11.1964.
25. *N & V* 4.12.1964, Letter to the Students from Vice-President Aklido Habte.
26. *N & V* 27.11.1964; and Charter of the University Newspaper Articles 2, 3, and 6 in Legislation of the Faculty Council.
27. Editorial, *N & V* 26.1.1961.
28. *N & V* 25.11.1963
29. LC 44, 15 S 1971; LC 1, 7.10.1970, LC 20, 18.12.1970
30. *N & V* 14.2.1964:4, 1.3.1965.15.

3:2 Obstacles to Unity

During academic 1962-1963, the formation of a union was the crucial question about which opinions were sharply divided, and not until March did the UCAA students elect their new union leaders.¹ Those who actively opposed holding the union elections did so to protest the expulsion of the previous year's student leaders and poets and the university's Policy Statement of Student Affairs. To elect a new council before the former had been formally dissolved would, in their view, mean support for the policy statement and would supply a precedent for similar actions in the future.² Students felt the policy statement deprived them of the self-determination which they had exercised for "almost ten years."³ They did not seem to (or pretended not to) recognize that the underlying policy of the former UCAA French-Canadian Jesuit administration had been the same as that spelled out in the October 1962 Policy Statement on Student Affairs for HSIU, drafted by a Jesuit Dean of Students. What had changed was the degree to which this policy was challenged.

Other students believed that a student government had to be formed, arguing that the previous council's actions had been unconstitutional. *News and Views* considered, however, that the council's refusal to hand over the College Day program for censorship accorded with the authority delegated to it by the student body.⁴ A mass meeting in November decided that a provisional student government should be formed until proper elections could be held, since the majority rejected a motion that a student council be permanently formed under the existing conditions.⁵ The provisional council was never operative, probably because of the opposition of a group of activists. Concern was subsequently expressed by *News and Views* and individual students that the minority did not feel bound by majority rule.⁶ "However painful it may be, it is high

time to realize that the decision of the majority is the decision of all. Whether we like it or not, that is the way democracy works."⁷

To learn how many students supported the formation of a provisional student government to negotiate with the administration, *News and Views* conducted a survey. The results indicated that 64 percent of the students wanted such a government to be formed.⁸ 14 percent even wanted the union under provisions of the university's policy statement, and 18 percent wanted a union only if it could operate under regulations existing before the policy statement. Only 4 percent did not want a union at all until the question of the suspended and expelled students was finally resolved. By far the majority of UCAA students did not care about these issues, since only about 25 percent answered the questionnaire.⁹ A substantial number had come to the university to "learn," an attitude the activists deemed a threat to student unionism and contemptuously referred to as the "just-a-BA-please-attitude."¹⁰ The Alemaya College of Agriculture students urged their UCAA fellows to form a union. "Friends, to proclaim the dawn of a new era the role you should play is indeed indispensable."¹¹

In January 1963 the board of governors reinstated the students expelled after the 1962 College Day on the condition that none were to serve as officers in any student organization.¹² Apparently, some understanding was reached with the university authorities to lessen the effect of the policy statement on union autonomy, because in March the students elected officers for their union.¹³ The following year the LCU president, in a speech at the Fourth NUEUS Congress, referred to the Policy Statement on Student Affairs as the "greatest curse" since the abolition of the boarding system. "We shall not even consider its recognition at any moment in the future."¹⁴

Union of the College of Business Administration

The physical development of HSIU created difficulties for the further growth of student unity. In the University College at Arat Kilo there was a Department of Commerce which, in autumn 1963, moved to the Sidist Kilo campus and expanded into the College of Business Administration (CBA).¹⁵ The new college was quickly termed the "dollar camp" by students because both staff and financial resources were mostly drawn from the United States. The CBA students formed their own union, CBAU, because they felt their "immediate needs" differed from those of the HSIU students.¹⁶ The CBAU's main aim was to better student welfare in the new college, improve the cafeteria, and obtain study rooms, a library, sports fields, and a recreation hall.¹⁷ The UCL opposed this organization on the grounds that it would hamper unity, create division in the Ethiopian student body,¹⁸ and set a precedent permitting any "petty"

establishment" to have its own council.¹⁹

Strong opposition also stemmed from the belief that U.S. staff members were behind the formation of the CBAU, and for the first time strong anti-American statements appeared in *News and Views*. The senior students of CBA were accused of wanting to please and flatter the "enemy" because of promised admissions to the Harvard School of Business. The staff member who had assisted in forming the union was accused of believing that business students should only be concerned with "business." It was alleged in the UCU camp that U.S. interests saw an opportunity in the business college for indoctrination and perpetuation of a political and economic system based on "the exploitation of man by man."²⁰ The harsh language used and the strong emotions generated created much ill-feeling. A substantial number of CBA students did not approve of a separate union, arguing that an association was adequate to solve CBA's special problems.²¹ CBA students were urged to join the UCU, "the nucleus" of the student movement in Ethiopia, where they could cooperate in the "quest for truth and [the] defence of that truth in a democratic way."²² When the council of the CBAU in a meeting with the university authorities agreed not to criticize the government in its paper, the *Our Study*, this was held up as proof that the UCU was correct in saying that the CBA students were too "timid" to form their own union.²³

During academic 1964-1965 the Faculty of Science remained behind at Arsi Ido, but the faculties of Arts and Education moved to the Sidist Kilo Campus. Enmity between the UCU and CBAU however, continued to be a feature of student affairs during academic 1965-1966.²⁴ It served to paralyse the national union, and when eventually the Main Campus Student Union was founded on the Sidist Kilo campus,²⁵ replacing the former UCU and intended to replace also the unions of the College of Business and the Law School, the division remained. A substantial number of CBA students joined the MCSU to protest the fragmentation they believed CBAU represented.²⁶ Serious charges were made against CBA faculty members for allegedly intimidating students who joined the campuswide union and for favoring those who joined CBAU.²⁷

From NUES to NUCLS

The development of the national union was impeded by delay in the UCU elections of 1962-1963 and later by the enmity and rivalry between the UCU and CBAU. The most important issue for the postponed Third Congress was the question of whether the national union should obtain recognition and financial assistance from MSL or wait for recognition from the Ethiopian government. Two members of the executive council of NUES reported that for two years they had gone "almost weekly" to the Ministry of Interior and fulfilled various demands concerning the constitution, all without result.²⁸

The Congress decided to obtain recognition from HSIU, which meant that the name of the union had to be changed from National Union of Ethiopian Students, NUES, to the National Union of Ethiopian University students, NUEUS.¹⁹ The important implication was the limitation imposed on membership. Article 3 of the NUES Constitution, which was never recognized, read "Membership is open to all Ethiopian and Ethiopian Student Organizations of higher learning." The students behind the foundation of NUES had envisaged a union encompassing students in all higher centers of learning, including high schools, agricultural schools, technical schools, and teacher training colleges all over Ethiopia. This would have become, in terms of membership, the largest organization in the country. In the absence of political parties and other nationwide organizations, a union of all students would have presented a unique and, from the government's viewpoint, threatening development.

The new Article 3 was changed to read "Membership is open to all Ethiopian students and Ethiopian student organizations in institutions of higher learning within the framework of the Haile Selassie I University."²⁰ which made the activities of the union subject to Faculty Council legislation. The newly elected president of NUEUS, Tesfome Muia, is defending the acceptance of the "less inviting proposal," and there was no choice, he expressed doubts as to whether Ethiopian students realized the value of solidarity to the extent of wanting to contribute money to maintain a national union. He argued that Ethiopian students were on the "we wish to have" level and had not yet reached "we are determined to have."

Students who wanted the union to be independent of HSIU referred to Article 45 of the Revised Ethiopian Constitution which granted assembly rights.²¹ They believed that the national union should not have abandoned its demand for government recognition and should have struggled on for "common causes to the betterment of our society." They also argued that the national union could have continued without government recognition, as was the case with some old boys' associations of several schools. The decision of the Third Congress was said to have committed the students to "shackles and domination and immaturity... Wor to the generation that will entrust its affairs in the hands of such future leaders!"²² The purpose of an independent union was to train students to realize their rights, shoulder responsibility, and serve Ethiopia.

The rivalry between the UCU and CBAU weakened the national union, a fact easily recognized by interested students.²³ In addition to the difficulties of gathering representatives from the Gondar and Aksum colleges, there was now a deep split in Addis Ababa. The Fourth NUEUS Congress, scheduled for January 1964, had to be postponed until May because the UCU delegation withdrew when CBAU applied for membership.²⁴ The UCU delegation characterized CBAU as "illegal," and its acceptance of the university policy statement was termed a "betrayal" of the Ethiopian student movement.²⁵ All the other

delegations voted to accept CBAU as a member.³⁵

There was a clear tendency for the smaller unions to unite again - the UCU and oppose it on almost all issues. The other unions were not prepared to fight resolutely for student union independence and abstract principles. They were much more prepared to view unions as welfare organizations for students and to work, as far as possible within the rules of the university, to promote intellectual and social life. The UCU's stubborn insistence on principles and ideals was often interpreted as a show of superiority, and some misunderstanding was rooted in the condescending attitude of its leaders. They purported to have the only truth worth having and tended toward self-glorification. "We students of UCAA always fought unyieldingly for our principles of truth and justice."³⁶ It was also obvious that this contingent was not prepared to yield to the majority. The UCU delegation broke up the Fourth Annual Congress of NUEUS because no agreement could be obtained on the principles it felt were vital.³⁷

The UCAA Revisionist Party

Before the next attempt to hold the congress, the UCAA Revisionist Party was formed to counter the UCU council.³⁸ Its "manifesto" urged the formation of an opposition party within the framework of the student movement, an idea which had been forwarded by the UCU president in his election campaign speech.³⁹ The revisionists' criticism seems mainly to have centered on the council's alleged indifference to bettering student welfare, improving the canteens, finding vacation jobs for students and obtaining money for necessary travel expenses. The revisionists also attacked the council for its stubborn behavior at the NUEUS Third Congress and for having neglected on-going discussions concerning a proposed national service.⁴⁰ The most important issue of principle seems to have been the alleged failure of the council to involve the students in matters directly affecting them.⁴¹

This accusation and the reaction to the opposition group reflected student attitudes toward as well as the legacy of the political system in Ethiopia. The Dean of Students and the UCU president quickly stamped the party "illegal" because it had no adviser or approved constitution and was outside the framework of the UCU constitution.⁴² The UCU president also termed it "immoral," discerning an "alien hand" behind it - a favorite Ethiopian technique to degrade and ridicule any challenge to authority. *Newa* and *Kieni* extenuated, however, that a "little introspection" was badly needed to avoid the tendency to find scapegoats for causes of trouble that actually arose from within the student body.⁴³ The revisionists' desire to change the student leadership was commendable, since the most challenging problem in underdeveloped countries was the "conflict between the perpetuation of the status-quo and change."⁴⁴

The revisionist campaign led to a successful and unprecedented student

demand that union officials resign and new elections be organized. Some of the officers were so reluctant to go that they were accused of regarding their expulsion as a violation against "divine authority," whereas the students found it a "revision of democracy."⁴³ The leader of the "revisionist" party was Tadele Gebre, and to the new UCU council were Terfe Wolde Teadik, Zerai Gebre Egziabher, and Eshetu Chole. On the ousted UCU council were Gelachew Aranya, Paulos Mikia, Gebre Selassie G. Mariam, and Berhane Meekel Redda.

The Fourth and Fifth NUEUS Congresses

The Fourth NUEUS Congress was held in May 1964. CBAU was accepted as a member, and attention was concentrated on the large number of draft resolutions. The result was a 12-page document, "Resolutions of the Fourth Annual Congress of the National Union of Ethiopian University Students, May 4-6, 1964." It was acknowledged that one of the many weaknesses of NUEUS was the fact that students did not contribute membership fees, finances came from the university.⁴⁴ The committee in charge of this question recommended that membership fees for the union be paid into the Registrar's Office at the beginning of each year. The rule was never implemented, most probably because the economic status of most students prevented them from contributing. Lack of finances, no doubt, was a prevailing if not a primary cause of the union's weakness.

The Fourth Congress pledged the National Union to work for elimination of the "evils of suffering and oppression regardless of any reprisals from governmental and/or other authority organizations" and to protect the rights and privileges of students, such as freedom of speech, press, and worship, and to stand against any infringement on students' right of association.⁴⁵

Concerning land reform, the government was urged to "provide protection to the peasant by legalizing the contract between owner and tenant," form producers' cooperatives, and develop saving and credit institutions accessible to farmers. The resolutions commended the government's attempt to make investments in Ethiopia attractive but recommended it to go even farther by providing more favorable terms to foreign entrepreneurs. It was suggested the government set up an efficient system of tax collection and discourage the import of luxury goods.

A truly representative parliament was stressed as necessary for the development of democratic institutions, and the students urged that the public be better educated about parliament and its work. Concerning social affairs, the government should expand vocational schools to accommodate the grade eight failures, and the Ministry of Education should make the teaching profession more attractive by providing a more efficient administration and incentives to teachers. There were recommendations concerning unemployment and beggary, and an

appeal was made to the government to "condemn prostitution as an institution," establish a reserved area for prostitutes, provide them with constant medical check-ups, and compel them to have licenses.

A conspicuous feature of the resolutions was the constantly recurring phrase "to urge the government to." The congress saw itself as a pressure group recommending action, but the wide range of resolutions suggests rather the role of a political party. The Fourth Congress resolutions were in line with the development plans of the government but asked for the efficient execution of those plans. The recommendations were made within the language of liberal-democratic capitalism, except for the section on Africa.

NUEUS had been represented at the International Student Conference Seminar in Dar es Salaam from December 28, 1963, to January 7, 1964.⁴⁸ Quite a few of its decisions were included in the Fourth Congress resolutions concerning international affairs and African issues.⁴⁹ The Ethiopian students therefore condemned the attempts of imperialists and neo-colonialists to exploit African countries and the colonial and dictatorial Portuguese and South African governments for denying Africans the right of self-determination. They expressed opposition to white minority rule in Southern Rhodesia and strong support for the Organization of African Unity. Indirectly, again citing the resolutions from the Dar es Salaam conference the resolutions expressed non-committal to the communist ideology by stating that imperialism could not be "viewed solely as the culmination of a particular economic system or as the natural expression of any particular ideology." The confinement of economic development programs to the cities and the consequent neglect of the rural areas was condemned, and African governments were called upon to make economic programs based on "periodic scientific planning and the principles of scientific socialism."

The Fourth Congress resolved that its executive council should find out how NUEUS could contribute to self-help projects in Ethiopia (for example, road building) what role the union could play in educating the people about participation, and how to coordinate and expand the literacy programs undertaken by the various college unions.

The Amharic text of the Fourth Congress resolutions was presented to the emperor by NUEUS officials. According to the paper of the College of Business, the monarch expressed "deep appreciation of students' concern for the nation."⁵⁰ The students, however, failed to gain legal recognition and financial aid for their organization, nor did the government give the national union any kind of publicity, the event was not even reported in the daily newspapers.

NUEUS experience at several international student conferences brought into relief what some students saw as the union's comparative inactivity and irrelevance on the domestic scene.⁵¹ Great disillusionment was expressed because the union had allegedly failed to meet expectations that it would become a

"dynamic student force."⁵¹ Criticism from UCU students and *News and Views* provoked the NUEUS president to publish the "NUEUS Line," in which he accused individuals from the UCU of "destructive criticism and deliberate insult." His statement apparently was issued without the knowledge of the other members of the NUEUS executive.⁵³ The UCU disregard for the national union was manifested in the unilateral actions of its council in sending letters to the President of the United States and the Foreign Minister of Belgium to protest their governments' intervention in the Congo, an action which should have been undertaken through NUEUS.⁵⁴ The letters were widely criticized for their impolite language and because it was believed the consent of the student body should have been obtained.⁵⁵

The theme of the Fifth NUEUS Congress, held in February 1966, was "Mobilization of Students' Efforts for Nation Building."⁵⁶ Representatives from no less than seven foreign student organizations were invited to attend, among them observers from the United States and the Soviet Union. Land reform was on the agenda, and the opening speech of the conference was given by Messin Wolde Mariam, who was an outspoken critic of contemporary Ethiopian society, dedicated to the development of rural Ethiopia, and an ardent spokesman for land reform. The Fifth Congress soon bogged down in the familiar disputes, this time led by the Main Campus Student Union, inheritor of the UCL spirit after the Arts and Education faculties moved to the Sidist Kilo campus. The MCSU worked against the participation of CBAU and the Law School union, claiming the MCSU was the campus's sole representative. As a result, the other unions walked out.

After the Fifth Congress a period of closer cooperation began between the MCSU and NUEUS. Realization of the futility of rivalry was definitely a factor, but contributing to the spirit of unity was the close friendship of Eshetu Chole, MCSU President, and Admassu Bezaeb, newly elected NUEUS president, who had been classmates at Wingate.

Conclusion

Obstacles to student unionism after 1962 were government and university restrictions as well as circumstances within the student community. The expansion at the Sidist Kilo campus created new unions which were protected by a small group of UCL students, who fought against fragmentation and interference from outsiders. At this stage the uneven development of political consciousness within UCU and between UCU and other unions also presented an obstacle. Activists tended to view student unionism as a potential political force. Their impotence and authoritarianism generated dislike but undoubtedly also helped to shake many students out of their indifference. There tended to be somewhat unrealistic expectations concerning leaders, probably because the idea of

democratic leadership was new to Ethiopia.

The large majority of students were uninvolved, and the UCU faced great difficulties because its constitution required two-thirds of the student body to be present in order to make valid decisions. The rule was eventually amended so that a general assembly, having been given wide publicity beforehand, could serve in place of a quorum.⁵⁷

The conflict over student unionism permitted valuable experience in political procedures and thinking and created keen interest in unionism in general, about the task it should perform and the role it should play. The student press strongly favored the formation of labor unions and of the different kinds of self-help associations in Ethiopia.⁵⁸ Student unionism was seen as a means to obtain "joint action and a collective voice" in order to awaken, educate, and emancipate the people, "to create consciousness in the minds of the mass."⁵⁹ The realization of the need to organize led to attempts at propagating the idea in Ethiopia's other schools. In 1963 four UCU students, while building a school in Jereba, organized a panel discussion on unionism at Jimma Agricultural School. It was stressed that the purpose of unionism was not personal gain but to prepare "the building up of our nation."⁶⁰ The director of the school was later asked in a letter to encourage and assist the students in forming a union.⁶¹

Students were aware of the suspicion with which their efforts were viewed and were careful not to antagonize the authorities. Students sought constantly to be allowed to participate in "guiding the destiny" of the Ethiopian nation. Although they openly expressed their wish to see democratic institutions develop, their support for government efforts was expressed repeatedly. Students wanted to become instruments of change in Ethiopia, working with the government.⁶²

Notes

1. Editorial, *N & Y* 7.3.1963.
2. Editorial, Crisis over Student Government, *N & Y* 9.11.1962, Students of the Building College also expressed opposition to the Policy Statement, *CETEN* 27.1.1963.12, and *N & Y* 7.3.1963.13. "A Paradox" by Yacob Haile Mariam.
3. Editorial, *N & Y* 30.11.1962.
4. Editorial, Crisis over Student Government, *N & Y* 9.11.1962. The paper was careful not to identify the actions of the expelled students, simply referring to them as "actions."
5. Ibid., p. 2.
6. Editorial, Rule of the Majority, *N & Y* 16.11.1962.
7. *N & Y* 23.11.1962.1. "Decision is a Step to Action" by Wodwosha Haile.
8. *N & Y* 28.12.1962.9.
9. Editorial, *N & Y* 4.11.1963.
10. Editorial, Crisis over Student Government, *N & Y* 9.11.1962, and *N & Y* 30.11.1962. "Reaction or Defeatism" by W Michael.

11. *N & V* 31.1.1963 15, Letter to the UCAA Student Body from the College of Agriculture Student Union, dated 24.1.1963
12. Editorial, *N & V* 18.1.1963.
13. Editorial, *N & V* 7.3.1963.
14. *CO* 17.1.1964 5
15. *B-B* 21.11.1963:6; *N & V* 15.11.1963 7
16. *B-B* 21..1.1963 5, 9.
17. *B-B* 28.11.1963 2, and *N & V*, 8.10.1963, "Why we decided to have our own student union" by Workineh Fitte.
18. Editorial, The New Business Deal, *N & V* 8.11.1963
19. *N & V* 18.10.1963 8
20. *N & V* 15.11.1963 7, "Towards Clarification of a Situation" by Tadesse Gebre
21. *B-B* 21.11.1963 9, "Let us sit down and reconsider" by Fikrustan Tafie.
22. Ibid., p. 8.
23. *B-B* 12.2.1963:4, "I Assume the Student Council" by Belki Shieffersaw
24. *N & V* 4.12.1964 21.
25. SAC Letter to the University Community 13.13.1965; SAC Minutes 3.12.1965
26. LC 102, 27.3.1973.
27. *N & V* 14.1.1964 5-6, Report of the UCAA delegation to the Fourth National Congress. SAC had to establish a committee to investigate those charges (SAC Minutes 3.12.1965). No traces of the findings of this committee were to be found in the SAC files.
28. *N & V* 10.4.1963 7 "On Recognition of NUES" by Gebrechlassis G. Mariam
29. *N & V* 29.3.1963 14, "As I Saw It" by Teahome Muft, president of NUES.
30. Ibid
31. *N & V* 5.4.1963 15, "As I see it" by Selamn Bekele, *N & V* 10.4.1963 5, "I see it differently" by Bekeyash Wubsh, and *N & V* 29.3.1963:8, Letter to the Editor from Getachew Aranya.
32. *B-B* 18.11.1963 8
33. Editorial, *N & V* 14.1.1964
34. *N & V* 14.1.1964 5. Report of the UCAA delegation to the Fourth National Congress; Ibid., pp. 8-10 Words of the Head of the UCU delegation, Getachew Aranya, and *B-B* 14.1.1.1964.
35. *CO* 17.1.1964
36. Editorial, *N & V* 14.1.1964.
37. *N & V* 14.1.1964:8
38. *B-B* 6.3.1964 Their publication, "The UCAA Revisionist Party," was catalogued in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies but unfortunately lost.
39. *N & V* 5.3.1964 11, "Unfulfilled Promises" by Hailo Gebre Yohannes.
40. *B-B* 6.3.1964 2, "An Opposition Party Born at the UC"
41. *N & V* 20.3.1964 3
42. *N & V* 5.3.1964 17
43. *N & V* 3.4.1964 12, "Let Us Face The Facts" by Hussein Mohammed Akl.
44. Editorial, Cabinet Reshuffle, *N & V* 20.3.1964
45. *N & V* 20.3.1964 7, Letter to the Editor from Peter J. Skoda. The leader of the "Revisionist Party" was Tadesse Gebre. The ousted UCU councilmen were Getachew Aranya, Paulos Muluas, Gebre Selassie G. Mariam, and Berhane Melek Redda. In the new UCU council were Terfe Woldie Tadde, Zerai Gebre Egziabher, and Eshetu Chole.
46. Editorial, NUES, *N & V*, 4.5.1964.

47. "Resolutions of the Fourth Annual Congress of the National Union of Ethiopian University Students," 1964 S.B. 1, 2, 4.
48. N & V 14.5.1964.2.
49. "Resolutions of the Fourth Annual Congress," 1964 .6-11, 2, 3, 4
50. B-B 18.12.1964.3, "NUEUS Executives Saw the Emperor."
51. N & V 27.10.1964.3, 13.11.1964.11.
52. N & V 27.11.1964.11, "Does NUEUS Deserve to Exist?" by Gienna Tassew.
53. N & V 27.11.1964.7, "NUEUS Deserves More" by Solomon Asfaw, member of NUEUS Council.
54. N & V 4.11.1964.16; N & V 21.12.1964.25 Letter from Berhane Meskel Rodda, NUEUS secretary general.
55. Editorial, A Hasty Decision, N & V .4.12.1964, and 4.12.1964.14, 18
56. B-B 17.1.1966.3, 11, B-B 17.4.1966.9, LC 102, 27.3.1973.
57. N & V 36.4.1964.7, Editorial, The JCU Constitution, N & V 4.12.1964, N & V 28.12.1964.14.
58. Editorial, Organizations: Values, importance and necessities. N & V 3.5.1963
59. Editorial, The National Union of Ethiopian University Students, N & V 29.3.1963; Editorials of N & V 7.3.1963 and [5.3.1963]
60. N & V 7.0.1963.8, "UCAA Panel at Jimma Agricultural School."
61. N & V 18.10.1963.9 Letter to the Director of the Jimma Agricultural and Technical School from Terese Woldesadik
62. Editorial, Resolutions of the Fourth NUEUS Congress, N & V 15.3.1963.2, CO 17...1964.1, 4.5 speeches by the NUEUS and UCU presidents to the Fourth NUEUS Congress.

3:3 Social Consciousness and the Ethiopian University Service

The general optimism as to what education could achieve for a developing country¹ and the very rapid advancement to high positions of the first group of educated élite encouraged students in Ethiopia, as in most other African countries, to believe they were destined to become leaders. Statements to this effect appeared regularly in student papers and speeches. A quotation from an editorial in 1957 was representative of the thinking prevalent around the 1960s: "It must be observed that all peoples both Ethiopians and foreigners are looking at us as the generation that will shoulder the great responsibility of putting Ethiopia on equal footing with the rest of the civilized world."² As the numbers of students increased and their chances of rising to the top decreased, students were less apt to regard themselves as a "God-appointed group to lead the country to its destiny." Belief in their future role did not lessen, but their optimism diminished, and criticism about the part played by the highly educated mounted. There was much moralistic, high-sounding rhetoric in student papers concerning qualities with which students thought they should be endowed. The overall impression is of a considerable shift from self-centered, personality-oriented values, which set the student apart and aloof from his environment, toward those which related the student to Ethiopian society.³ The most cherished attribute seemed to be a sense of duty and responsibility, which received poor nourishment in an autocratic society. Some self-sacrifice was definitely required. "The New Generation: How should it be?" was one editorial which required the educated to have selfless devotion, a deep sense of legal and moral justice, sublime honesty, and courage and to be "dauntless" supporters of "noble causes."⁴

Pure enjoyment of the students' privileged position was considered unac-

ceptable, the E 3450 monthly salary earned by most graduates was also an improper motive for studying, because it made the graduate "no more than just an additional blood-sucker of the nation."³ Concerned students thought a graduate should have the intellectual and moral resources to take the initiative and do something extra for his society, "for an ideal better than money."⁴ Increasingly, statements appeared in speeches and in print concerning privileged students being supported by the taxes of a poor peasantry. The notion of student indebtedness was strongly expressed as well as the vast expectations the common people were believed to entertain toward the educated few.⁵

Contributions to Development

Beginning in 1958-1959, students attempted various kinds of social work. Female students attended a child care course and spent some time every week under the auspices of the Dean of Women, Maria di Giacomo, visiting orphanages and making toys. Funds were collected to prepare Christmas gifts and picnics for "needy" children in orphanages and hospitals "in the traditional Western fashion," and neighboring children were invited to parties.⁶ Several lectures on social work in 1958 seem to have inspired a program aimed at educating employees within UCAA and the shoe shine boys in the immediate surroundings. Any student "interested in discharging a part of his social obligations" was invited to participate.⁷ In 1959 a social work program with six groups of students organized regular visits to the Entoto Community Center and an Orphanage school at Casa Incen.⁸ In following years a Community Service Committee collected money and did field work mainly connected to teaching and the distribution of food and clothing. The municipality started some pilot community centers in the early 1960s, and students participated from time to time. In 1962-1963 the college chapter of the Young Women's Christian Association was engaged in teaching adult women.⁹

The initiative in these activities, at least during the first years, came from the Jesuit administration and staff of the college-Lucie Matte, Edouard Trudeau, and Georges Savard—and from such Ethiopians as Cirrus Amare and Aklilu Habte.¹⁰ The aim was to give students insight into the needs of Ethiopian society, inspire a sense of service, and develop creative thinking about what contributions students could make. The need to prove that the institution could be of immediate benefit to the society must have been another consideration. Behind all this was certainly an honest wish to narrow the vast gap between the university and the larger community.¹¹ How to achieve these lofty objectives was a difficult question. What kind of actions could match a motto like "Let us band our efforts, roll up our sleeves, and do something for others NOW. All for everyone and everyone for all"?¹² Apart from some teaching, the activities were of a charitable nature planned by the staff, a kind of extracur-

icular activity a couple of hours per week for some students.

Student response to the idea of service projects seemed more enthusiastic when influences came from outside, rather than from staff members. "Impression by the authorities" was dreaded. An adviser from UNESCO came to UCAA in 1961 to explain how a team of 20 volunteers could fight illiteracy by operating a mobile school for children near Addis Ababa. He appealed directly to the students, who would have the opportunity to run the school themselves with financial support from UNESCO.¹⁵ In the student press this project received a stronger response than any previously attempted program.

The time has come for each student...to be practical and bring down to earth our lofty ideals... The emperor has borne the yoke to educate us. He says "I give you what actually you have, what can you give me now?" Is our answer to be "Shut up. You are a peasant. You deserve nothing. It was your duty to labour and till and our right to eat and make merry"? God forbid. Reject this call to arms, and this proves that you are hypocrites. Refuse the challenge, and history will record your servitude...the next generation will brand you as robbers. The time has come for us to prove whether we will be true to our people or betray them.¹⁶

Response to the mobile school was positive partly because it would be the students' own undertaking and partly because it was seen as a concrete and worthwhile venture certain to produce results. The project began in 1961 but did not continue into academic 1962-1963.

The students of the College of Agriculture at Alemaya ran a village school.¹⁷ In 1961 the vice-president of the Alemaya Agricultural College Union, Mulu Beaubeh, had participated in an international student work camp in Chile to rebuild areas affected by earthquakes. This experience, as well as promises of financial assistance from the World University Service, inspired the students to build a village school and clinic at Alemaya. The first NJEUS organized national work camp took place at Alemaya in 1961 and aimed to improve the village school with monies given by the Ministry of Community Development and the emperor. Attendance at a seminar in Israel in January 1961 on "The Role of the Student in Developing Countries" supported the belief that it was in the sphere of education that students could contribute to Ethiopian development. It is evident that the achievements of Israeli youth and a perception of their pioneering spirit and enthusiasm seemed impressive and worth emulating.¹⁸

Vacation schools in the provinces were proposed by UCU leaders,¹⁹ but none of these materialized. During the long 1962 vacation some students taught Amharic to several hundred pupils in Prince Makonnen School in Addis Ababa, and thirty Ethiopian students, together with thirty students from the United States and Canada ("Cross Readers"), built some schools in Kaffa and Tigray NUES, together with the newly formed national committee of the World

University Service organized these efforts.²⁰

The determination to fight Ethiopian illiteracy through student projects was expressed again and again, as well as admissions that literacy campaigns had to be supplemented by concrete student contributions or else the idea would remain a "mental exercise."²¹ "We, the students of Ethiopia, have a burning desire to have the literacy rate raised, to have the economic and social standards of our people elevated" wrote secretary general Temege Woldetensik, announcing the UCU decision to launch a summer student project in 1963. It was felt to be important that students themselves take the initiative. "Last year we helped Cross Readers to build some class rooms for us. But the challenge this year is: Can't we do something for ourselves by ourselves?"²² "We know our society better, we are more adapted to its climate, mud and misery than the Cross-Readers. We know that every village needs some kind of help and orientation."²³

Under the motto "We will do what we cannot do now, if we do what we can do now," eight students spent 40 days building a four-room school at Jimma in an "exclusively" UCU project. Money for the construction, E \$4,000, was raised mostly within the UC community and from the UC Alumni Association.²⁴ Successful completion of the project heightened student self-confidence. It was referred to repeatedly as a token of their concern and gratitude to the Ethiopian people and as a "memorable monument" of efforts to contribute to the progress of their country. They wanted to name it University College of Addis Ababa Primary School, but they had to be content with a notice in the school stating that it had been built by students of the UC to "enable the people to answer a few 'why's.'" Pride in the school was connected to the fact that it had materialized because of student initiative and effort and because the government had "no hand in the project whatsoever."²⁵

The National Literacy Campaign (NLC), organized independently of the government, started effective work in 1962-1963, having procured teaching materials in Amharic which could be bought by anyone willing to join the project. Mission societies as well as the Ethiopian Lutheran Church became diligent organizers of literacy classes. University students in Addis Ababa were reluctant to carry on literacy work within the NLC framework, vaguely suspecting the organization to be another dubious government venture. Ethiopian students abroad, especially those in the United States, were quick to see support of the literacy campaign as a worthwhile means of contributing to Ethiopian development. More than E\$10,000 was collected during the next five years in the United States by ESANA's Committee for Ethiopian Literacy under the chairmanship of Ephraim Isaac.²⁶ In 1964 UC students started a literacy project in the Menelik II school which, within weeks, had an enrollment of about 700.²⁷ Not until the second half of the 1960s, however, did students significantly participate in the literacy campaign.

Generally speaking, student endeavors were discontinuous because of the long many-month vacations and the annual change, often delayed, in student leadership. The most important obstacle, however, was the lack of participation in projects. Quite a few students expressed an interest and registered but failed to show up when actual work was required, and most of those who started were easily discouraged and often quit.¹⁸ The mobile school and the community service projects were constantly running short of workers. The mobile school and vacation teaching projects at the Prince Makonnen School, begun in 1961 and 1962, respectively, did not continue during academic 1962/1963. When night courses at Menelik II School, next to the University College, were started in 1964 problems connected with financing and transportation of teachers to their homes were solved, but getting sufficient students to teach one hour per week remained a barrier to progress. At the Adis Work Camp a joint NL-EUS and Alemaya Community Development project, fifteen Addis Ababa and five Alemaya students were supposed to participate; the actual number dropped to twelve, all but one from Alemaya.¹⁹ Those committed to action were few, a fact deplored by the UCAA students themselves.

At the Public Health College at Gondar, the Berhan Lebello Society (Light for All), dedicated to welfare and literacy work, was established in 1962. It started its own three-grade school and gave support to needy students. Later in the 1960s, Public Health students became efficient literacy campaigners.²⁰

The village school of the Alemaya College of Agriculture, the "Aggies" school, started in 1957 and involved extensive numbers of students as teachers year after year. In 1963 the first group of its pupils completed primary education. The school was only partly supported by the Ministry of Education, and when it attempted to take over administration around 1970 the move was stubbornly resisted by students, who felt the school symbolized their effort and social concern. A community welfare organization was started in 1961 dedicated to improving the lives of the rural communities around Alemaya, as was a night school. Projects such as insect and rat eradication, reforestation, youth clubs, and advice on health, irrigation, and low-cost building were also undertaken.

On the whole it seems the students of the College of Agriculture were more successful in translating their feelings of social obligation into concrete action, and they also seemed less frustrated and more committed with their own attempts than did the Addis Ababa students. The curriculum of the Alemaya college was, like that of the Gondar Public Health College, more geared to solving practical problems, better equipping the students for social service. The Alemaya college is situated in a rural community where the population is reached easily, and rapport between staff and students was also much stronger. The student population was approximately one-tenth of that in the capital, both students and faculty lived on campus, and the students were less reluctant

to cooperate with the staff as compared to the situation in Addis Ababa. Some of the Alemaya staff, and their wives, showed great interest in social service which seems to have been appreciated by the students.³¹

Students' Perceptions of Their Role

Students' evaluation of their own capacity for service was rather negative. Ethiopian delegates observed that European students were more active and had a greater sense of service to their societies than did their Ethiopian counterparts. Concerned Ethiopian students seemed to have a painful sense of doubt, inferiority, impotence, and shame when confronted with their own as well as what they perceived to be their compatriots' expectations.³² These feelings were exacerbated by the remarks of foreigners which put the burden of progress on the shoulders of the educated few. When Golda Meir of Israel spoke to students in 1963, the expressed thoughts entertained by many foreigners in Ethiopia:

You have no problems of water here. In fact here I see a country that is full of beauty, unlimited beauty and unlimited possibilities. Water, sunshine, soil and everything grows by itself. And yet I see people who have no connection with such great possibilities, who are undernourished and half-naked. You, the privileged few who are educated must feel that it is your responsibility that your country utilizes its resources, there must be no encouragement to such a country as yours.³³

She castigated the intellectuals flight from the rural areas and their contempt for manual labor and she urged the students to live a "difficult life." You must be prepared to *Care* if you are to *Get anything*" Student papers seemed to share her bias of thought. Among Ethiopian students and foreigners the economic and social progress of the country was more often than not, seen in a narcissistic perspective, dependent upon individual attitudes and personal sacrifice. The political aspects remained unexpressed because of self-imposed censorship, lack of insight into the broader perspectives of development, or both.

As might be expected, self-doubtiveness was not uncommon. When Ethiopian graduates criticized the apparently parasitic life of students and their aloofness, passivity, and selfishness characteristics which students believed were also assigned to them by the common people—students would stress there were more dedicated and selfless students than "some observers would like to admit."³⁴ At the beginning of a new academic year student leaders might even glorify past achievements in order to challenge new students to think about service to the society.³⁵

Students' evaluation of their senior-educated Ethiopians enjoying secure and well-paid positions in the higher levels of the state bureaucracy—was negative, and this probably enhanced their own feelings of impotence.³⁶ On their part, older graduates were disillusioned by how easily students dedicated

to change programs, and ideals gave up once employment was secured contrary to their convictions, they became servants of the status quo and a-gains of which they disapproved and privately condemned.³⁷ A panel discussion in the Ethiopian University Teachers Association in 1962 debated the proposition "The Ethiopian educated youth is not in a position to help his country because he is essentially self-centered."³⁸ The students fought back, and the UC Alumni Association, which had been formed in May 1958, was started and questioned by *New and Free* for its lack of achievement and activity.³⁹

In examining students' social consciousness, one must consider their relation to their families, particularly students from humble origins. Did students who reached the university ignore their families, or did they return when possible to help, for example raise the literacy level in their home areas in accordance with their idealistic thinking? These sensitive questions are very difficult to answer. Family ties are strong in Ethiopia, as the only cushion against disease and age, and the hazards of life their importance is heavily stressed in child rearing. No doubt many students felt guilty about the many years spent studying, that postponing the time when they could assist their families.⁴⁰ Indeed, rather than going home during vacations, it seems that students (as far as possible), took jobs in Addis Ababa so they could send money home.

Yet, it seems true to say that students turned their backs on poverty, were impressed by affluence and often were ashamed to acknowledge their poor social origins.⁴¹ Other Africans studying in Ethiopia found it strange not to be invited home by fellow students and that so many avoided such visits themselves. Apparently, it was much easier for those from colonial territories to acknowledge and even take pride in their poor social origins than it was for the Ethiopians.⁴² This difference may be because rich colonials were usually expatriates and thus were abhorred, whereas the rich in Ethiopia were countrymen and at this stage were perhaps more envied than detested by the students. The extent to which the following student estimation was representative is impossible to say, but it certainly reveals a common attitude: "Today we see people denying their parents, by whose endeavour, self-denial and self-sacrifice they have been released from the grip of necessity through education, because they feel that they are too important to admit that they are the offspring of humble people. Others try to avoid old friends, who failed to get the kind consideration of fortune, because they feel it is a disgrace to be seen with them."⁴³ Such a statement signifies the painful identity conflict experienced by students during this period. It also indicates, as do many of the comments cited previously in this chapter, that criticism of these attitudes was alive within the student community.

Did a change in social consciousness take place in the student body before the mid-1960s? The materials used in the preceding pages seem to indicate no, even allowing for the paucity of comparative sources during the 1950s. Articles

written in 1960 revealed distaste from and almost contempt for the ignorant common people. When a group of fifteen students undertook a social survey that year for the municipality in the Awtar district of Addis Ababa, they encountered insecurity, suspicion, and outright fear as to the purpose of the survey. Student reaction was less than sympathetic: "Never in my life... I may say with complete honesty, have I been bored like this... This has been the case with all my colleagues and they suffered from the same boredom."⁴⁴ That same year, an article entitled "Charity not to Beggars" saw beggars as "lazy idlers."⁴⁵ Not many years later this kind of writing had disappeared from student papers, and a significant change of tone had taken place.⁴⁶ Toward the end of the 1960s opportunities directly to observe and collect knowledge of the conditions of the common people were eagerly sought as weapons with which to attack the social and political system. In 1966, several Ethiopian university teachers, themselves former UCIA students, believed that a considerable increase in student concern for social problems had taken place since the 1950s.⁴⁷ These statements support the conclusion that such a process was in the making. It was stimulated by the one-year compulsory university service which was proposed, debated, and established during academic 1963-1964.

The Ethiopian University Service

The Ethiopian University Service (EUS) was a degree requirement of HSIU, characterized as "an inspiration of genius" by Eric Ashby in 1966.⁴⁸ The first written proposal was submitted to the HSIU president in 1961 by Mesfin Wolde Mariam, then head of the Department of Geography, and his ideas were undoubtedly important to the initiation of the program. He offered no answer to the questions students had raised about what they could do for their country. Mesfin had discussed the possibility of a service year with a few students before he wrote the proposal.⁴⁹ In early 1963 the Faculty Council approved the idea in principle, and two staff committees were appointed by President Kassa to study the concept,⁵⁰ under the chairmanship of Aklilu Habte and Paulos Asrat. Students did not participate in or know about the initial planning. Not until November 1963 did *News and Views* write about the need to establish "something like (an) Ethiopian Peace Corps or a National Service." A NUEUS committee was formed a couple of weeks later and began joint meetings with the faculty committees.⁵¹

In January 1964 the joint student-staff committee submitted a final report to the president, and a committee chaired by Dean James Paul of the Faculty of Law started drafting the statutes.⁵² On April 17 a long Faculty Council meeting officially established the EUS. The term national service was omitted because of its military connotation and replaced by university service because the program was to include university students only. Student opposition to the plan

drew support from the fact that disagreements on many aspects were voiced in the Faculty Council meeting.⁵³

The statute required one year of service for all degrees and certain diplomas awarded to Ethiopian citizens attending the university as full-time students. Its definition of service was "work in the field for the purpose of establishing contact and rendering service to essentially rural communities...for the purpose of aiding national welfare and improving student understanding of local community needs, problems and developments." This last was the justification for making the service a degree requirement. The monthly salary for students was set at E\\$173,⁵⁴ and the service year was to precede the fourth year in the university.

In November 1963 EUS was described in the student press as a student venture, and those students who supported the final program presented it as the outcome of original student initiative. There were those, however, who argued that the program was the creation of university officials and was being characterized as student-initiated only to generate support. Doubtfulness was also expressed as to who the student initiators were.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, response was favorable and even enthusiastic in the early, undefined stage, but opposition intensified as the terms, norms, and prospects of realizability were clarified.⁵⁶ Unconditional support was rare, but it existed.⁵⁷ As reflected in speeches, debates, editorials, and articles, controversy raged around three main themes: whether the service was to be voluntary or compulsory, whether students had to postpone the time of their degree by one year and whether the program was being imposed on the students by government and/or university officials.

Initially it seemed to be taken for granted that the service would be voluntary. It was assumed that students from rich and influential families would be exempted, for some reason, and that their privilege would frustrate and discourage others.⁵⁸ Students studying abroad would automatically be exempted, as would those from the army air force, police and government agencies, and those studying in the extension department. It is important to stress that most students were reluctant and unwilling to go to unfamiliar and distant rural areas. More often than not, student knowledge of Ethiopia was confined to Addis Ababa and the area in which they were born. Students were not accustomed to traveling, and they were anxious about adjusting to the wide linguistic, climatic, and ethnic diversity of the country. Students also saw the service year as a sacrifice feelings not then openly expressed but later readily admitted by former EUS pioneers. Because of the personal reluctance and the thought of possible unfair exemptions, some students voiced the opinion that only the strongest enforcement by law would make the service function as an assignment for everyone regardless of family status.⁵⁹ There were also objections to the length of service and to requiring it before the last year of studies.⁶⁰ The thought of postponing graduation seemed impossible for many because of family

obligations.⁶¹ Why could they not serve during the long vacations or after graduation? Would recent graduates refuse to serve? To avoid this, could a degree then not be awarded until after completion of the service year? There were some of the many questions raised by the students.

The NUEUS president, Teshome Muat, repeatedly stated that EUS was not being imposed on the students by any kind of authority, but he was not believed. Impression was the word most frequently recurring in student reaction to the service year.⁶² The impressors were thought to be a few individuals within the university together with government authorities.⁶³ It was obvious that the Ministry of Education was interested in the project due to the great shortage of qualified Ethiopian teachers in the secondary schools and the expense involved in hiring expatriate staff. Representatives from the ministry spoke to student audiences, and it appeared they expected their ministry to administer EUS.⁶⁴ In April, before the Faculty Council had established the service, the radio and *Addis Zemen* announced the plan as a "voluntary peace corps type development scheme" jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Education and HSIU. School administrators from private and government educational institutions were called to the capital to discuss the project, which the students were said to have accepted reluctantly.⁶⁵ The HSIU president and the government media explicitly denied that the idea had originated with the students and that they, therefore, had no say as to its nature.⁶⁶ The students' term justified in believing the service was pushed through by the government. For that reason and because of attitudes about teaching opposition was strong. The Ministry of Education was held in contempt for its inefficiency as well as its handling of teachers. Furthermore all those with no intention of becoming educators especially resented having to spend a year teaching.⁶⁷

When the EUS was finally established it was separately administered within the university, and the reference to teaching was omitted in the statutes to make the scope as wide as possible. There were some of the few concessions to student opinion. Responses were positive at the Public Health College in Gondar and the College of Agriculture in Almays, but votes taken within the four colleges in Addis Ababa both before and immediately after the establishment of EUS leave no doubt about massive student opposition.⁶⁸ NUEUS letters informed President Kene that students rejected the service and would exert maximum effort against its imposition.⁶⁹ The uniform one-year extension of their educational program and the public announcement of the service without their consent were reasons given. The NUEUS congress resolved that the service be boycotted.⁷⁰

A *News and Views* editorial blamed the university for having consistently excluded the students from all decisions making in connection with EUS. It was reiterated that "students firmly believe that the idea of serving their country was originally their own" and that they repeatedly had "explained their desire

to implement the program in their own ways.⁷¹ No documents seem to have been prepared in this regard, but there were scattered references to ideas basically similar to those expressed earlier by Menfin Wolde Martum. He had proposed a service in the most remote areas of Ethiopia, in places unconnected to any road, untouched by the comforts and development of urban Ethiopia. "The idea was that each student will help the community primarily in his own field so that by the end of the year there would be a literate and politically conscious community with better skills of building, farming, marketing, and better general living conditions."⁷²

In the months before establishment of EUS, concerned staff and students commented clearly that the service to be rendered had to benefit the broad masses the peasant families of rural Ethiopia.⁷³ The basic problem was not only illiteracy but also the fact that people did not know they were miserably poor. Their minds had to be peripherated so they themselves would work for a better living. Four "major evils" had to be attacked simultaneously—poverty, illiteracy, disease, and civil inertia. Officially, however, dissatisfaction had to be eradicated "not for rebellion, but for improvement." For many students, working for the Ministry of Education in the secondary schools seemed a misdirection of resources, since they believed progress on a larger scale could not be brought about in Ethiopia unless the masses were given education. The concerned core at ISU wanted the EUS to further this goal, but it must remain an open question whether the postponement of graduation by one year for this kind of service would have inspired significantly greater student support.

No boycotts, strikes, or demonstrations took place. NUELS was not strong enough to carry through its own resolutions, and the leadership was obviously divided in its attitudes. Amhara and Gondar students were favorably disposed, and there was considerable open communication between President Kassa and students on the issue. The president let the students know their rejection would be met with strict and severe measures by the "authorities concerned," a reference to government intervention through the board of governors.⁷⁴ For them more the salary offered EUS participants was probably beyond the expectations of most.⁷⁵ For the poor students, this meant decent living, some new clothes, some money to send home, and even the opportunity to earn a few dollars. Finally student awareness of their own stated ideals played a small part. They knew their image would be considerably tarnished if they rejected the service. The dilemma of words and action was acute, and this time action seemed unavoidable. It may be relevant to point to President Nyerere's attempt in 1966 to introduce a compulsory national service for Tanzanian university students after graduation, a protest demonstration led to the expulsion of 320 students for several months.⁷⁶

A questionnaire on the reaction of the first 114 EUS participants revealed a significant change in overall attitude from September 1964 to May 1965.⁷⁷

Initial resentment about "imposition" and teaching significantly had altered by May, positive feelings were renewed about teaching and other aspects of the service. Eighty-seven percent of the respondents felt the program should be continued, mainly because they had developed an acute awareness of the teacher shortage and had learned that the EUS filled a critical need. The participants' sense of rendering useful service to the country outweighed most of their initial resentment. Overall student response to EUS during subsequent years was acceptance and increasing enthusiasm,⁷³ even if the thought was kept alive that the service should have been directed to basic education in the strictly rural areas.⁷⁴ Prominent student activists stressed that this disagreement should not prevent making the most of the service as it existed.⁷⁵ By far the majority of participants became teachers, mostly in the junior secondary schools in provincial urban centers, since it was more difficult for ministries other than the Ministry of Education to utilize their services.⁷⁶ Some law students were employed by ministries or the Labor Confederation and some engineering students with the Highway Authority, the Water Resources Department or with provincial governments to help in road planning.⁷⁷ In 1965 EUS students from the College of Building began working with Jewish volunteers in their highly effective school construction program.⁷⁸

EUS participants were expected to perform specific assignments diligently, but they also were expected to do something extra on their own initiative, something "beyond the call of duty." The EUS office strongly encouraged participants to engage in extracurricular activities within the school if they were teaching, as well as in community programs.⁷⁹ The NUELS executive committee also stressed the importance of establishing student associations and encouraging progressive thinking among students.⁸⁰ Most EUS participants did engage in several kinds of activities in addition to their regular task. Literacy work in the form of evening classes for adults was the most common, although service students also undertook evening courses for teachers, various sports and club activities for students, welfare work for needy students, collecting books for school libraries, formation of teachers' and students' associations, building of water supplies and latrines, and demonstration of vegetable growing.⁸¹

The one-year interruption of university studies not only helped raise consciousness but also, for many, was a year of personal adventure in which they discovered how little they knew of their own country and people.⁸² As a large proportion of the university student body came from towns, the service year brought individuals closer to rural Ethiopia and gave them invaluable insights into its problems and the conditions in which their young pupils lived.⁸³ The prevalence of ill health and hunger made a deep impression. For those who served as teachers, realization of the country's educational problems and the importance of teachers, generally so lowly esteemed, was enhanced, as was indignation about the administrative inadequacies of the Ministry of Education.

especially in his dealings with the teachers. Activists stressed the importance of collecting socioeconomic information while on EUS service. Knowledge of the conditions of the people in various parts of the country was considered indispensable for the political armament of the student movement.⁸⁹

The strong stress on active community service and personal initiative contained a potential for conflict.⁹⁰ To avoid obstruction from the less educated local school directors and teachers proved difficult and challenged the EUS teachers' human qualities. Local officials naturally saw the new activities as threatening, and they were not prepared to believe in idealistic motives behind students. The close connection between students and their EUS teachers in some places aroused suspicion of political indoctrination, whether well founded. Student activists definitely wanted to use the service year to promote political consciousness among students in the province, to spread revolutionary ideas among them, and to give them purpose and direction. Toward the end of the 1960s pamphlets and papers were distributed, and various local actions were instigated among secondary school students. Links of solidarity and communication were created. Misunderstanding, conflict, and clashes between local authorities and EUS students occurred with increasing frequency. In some places local officials attempted to sow ill feelings against EUS students, to isolate them. Salaries could be delayed, and local arrests occurred in connection with student strikes in Addis Ababa, or because of some local school action, which the service students immediately were believed to have instigated.

These experiences tempered the initial enthusiasm among staff, administrators, and some students for extracurricular activities and involvement in the local communities. Especially after 1964, the academic aspect of the program was strengthened and that of service to the community weakened. The EUS office no longer encouraged service students to undertake additional assignments. Service in the rural areas, where university students had been engaged in primary schools, was reduced, and more were sent to secondary schools in provincial capitals and given increased workloads to discourage outside activities. In 1969 several hundred Peace Corps teachers left Ethiopia, as did a substantial number of Indian teachers who found better conditions in other African countries. The Ministry of Education became dependent to a large extent upon the EUS to staff its secondary schools. That the EUS students were becoming a social force was demonstrated in September 1969. EUS participants, now numbering 605, struck and entered into bargaining with university and government authorities which resulted in victory for the EUS students on virtually every demand.⁹⁰ The Ethiopian University Service, accepted reluctantly in 1964 by students forced to take the consequences of their own charter, was turned into a tool to promote the ideas of the student movement. In this attempt the students were extremely successful. The formidable disruption of the educational system in 1969 must be traced to the lack of communication

and solidarity created by the university service program.

Notes

1. Coleman, 1961, introduction by Coleman, 4-5, 29.
2. Editorial, UC Calif 16.3.1957; Editorial, N & V 25.1.1960; N & V 7.10.1963:8; N & V 11.3.1964:10.
3. Editorial, UC Calif 16.3.1957; UC Calif 13.4.1957
4. B-B 20.3.1964.
5. N & V 27.10.1964:4
6. N & V 17.6.1960; N & V 27.10.1964; N & V 11.5.1961; N & V 19.10.1961.
7. Editorial, N & V 28.9.1961; Editorial, N & V 30.11.1961; N & V 5.4.1963:10; N & V 26.4.1963; N & V 27.10.1964:4; LC 77, 19.6.1972.
8. UCLA NL 27.11.1958; UCLA NL 4.12.1958; UCLA NL 29.1.1959; UCLA NL 23.10.1959; N & V 26.1.1961:4.
9. N & V 27.11.1959.
10. N & V 27.11.1959.
11. N & V 11.12.1959; N & V 24.12.1960; N & V 19.10.1961; N & V 4.1.1963.
12. N & V 27.11.1959; N & V 3.11.1961; N & V 4.1.1963.
13. N & V 19.10.1961; N & V 26.10.1961
14. N & V 3.11.1961
15. N & V 5.10.1961.
16. Editorial, An Opportunity to Help, N & V 12.10.1961; and Ibid., "A Call to Arms" by Simeone Bekele (the quotation is from the latter).
17. N & V 12.10.1961.
18. N & V 8.2.1962; 20.12.1961:1.
19. N & V 31.5.1962:1.
20. N & V 7.6.1962:4.
21. N & V 14.6.1962:1, 22.6.1962:1
22. N & V 3.5.1963:8.
23. N & V 24.5.1963:1.
24. Ibid., p. 7; N & V 31.5.1963:1, 6; N & V 7.10.1963:2, 3.
25. N & V 7.10.1963:2, 8, 10.1963:4, 14.5.1964:3, 28.3.1966:11.
26. LC 51, 23.11.1971; UR 18.1.1968:1.
27. N & V 20.3.1964:11.
28. N & V 1.2.1962, 31.5.1962:1, 4, 26.4.1963:9, 18.10.1963:4, 27.12.1963:6, 3.1.1964:3, 9.4.1964:13, 28.3.1964:11, 12; and LC 51, 23.11.1971
29. CO 15.11.1963:4
30. UR 11.1.1968:6, 18.1.1968:1, and LC 51, 23.11.1971
31. CO 5.10.1962:3, 4, 12.10.1962:1, 26.4.1963:4, 20.12.1963:1, 15.21.11.1963, 29.1.1.1964:2, 10.1.1964:4, 30.10.1964:9, 11.1.1964:1, 7, 11.11.1964:4, 13, 14.11.1965:6, 28.5.1965:6; and LC 49, 23.10.1971
32. N & V 24.12.1959, 6.10.1961, 19.10.1961, 27.12.1961:2.
33. B-B 26.12.1961:5; N & V 20.12.1963:1, 3
34. N & V 19.10.1961, 26.10.1961, 24.4.1963:9.
35. N & V 3.5.1961:8, 7.10.1963:5.
36. N & V 27.10.1964:4.
37. Cimsa Amare, "The Modern Ethiopian Intellectuals 1966-1967-8," 13; Tefera Wurie Bekele, "Social Background," 1964:56, 72, 73.

38. *N & V* 24.3.1962:2
 39. *UCAANL* 30.5.1958; *N & V* 33.3.1963:1, 29.3.1963:15
 40. Gila, "Some patterns of thinking and feeling," 1960:9
 41. *N & V* 9.4.1964:9.
 42. *LCB5* 3.10.1972.
 43. *COTSH* November 1963:9
 44. *N & V* 14.5.1960
 45. *N & V* 4.3.1960
 46. *N & V* 14.5.1963:10, "A Message from the Presidents."
 47. *N & V* 21.3.1966:9-10, "The University Student, Then and Now" by Abram Demat,
N & V 1.6.1966:8, "Who's Who: Melesse Wolde Mariam"; and Girma Assefa, "The
 Modern Ethiopian Intelligentsia," 1966-1967.
 48. Ashby 1966:357.
 49. Melesse Wolde Mariam, "A Year of Service that H.S. University Students can Render to
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 Melesse Wolde Mariam, "The Rural-Urban Split in Ethiopia," 1966:15; and Haile
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 54. *Bulletin*, April 1964.
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AP 13.1.1964:11
 56. Editorial, *N & V* 27.12.1963; Editorial, *B-B* 9.12.1963.
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 60. *N & V* 27.12.1963:1
 61. *N & V* 19.2.1964:14, 23.4.1964:10-12, 30.4.1964:4, 14.1.1964:16; *AP* 18.3.1964:1.
 62. *N & V* 27.12.1963:6, 19.2.1964:6, 5.3.1964:6; Editorial, 30.4.1964.
 63. *B-B* 2.1.1964:8.
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 65. *AZ* 2.4.1964, Editorial, *N & V* 3.6.1964, and p. 3, Editorial, *N & V* 9.4.1964.
 66. *N & V* 16.4.1964:2-3.
 67. *AP* 24.4.1964:6
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 69. Editorial, *AP* 18.3.1964; *N & V* 9.4.1964:4, 16.4.1964:8. Editorial, 30.4.1964, and
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 70. Editorial, *AP* 30.12.1964.
 71. Editorial, *N & V* 30.4.1964.
 72. *N & V* 30.4.1966:18-20 In Pion's article on EUS in that issue there is a quotation in
 Amharic from Melesse Wolde Mariam's original proposal; Melesse Wolde Mariam, "The
 Rural-Urban Split in Ethiopia," 1968:15
 73. Editorial, *B-B* 5.12.1963, *N & V* 3.1.1964:7, *B-B* 16.1.1964:1, 4, 6; *AP* 31.1.1964:3,
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 74. *N & V* 16.4.1964:2.
 75. Editorial, *N & V* 5.3.1964

76. *University Echo, Dar es Salam*, [2] 11, 1966.
77. Korten and Korten, "Ethiopia's Use of National University Students in a Year of Rural Service," 1966 488-90.
78. *R-E 18.12.1964* 9, 13; *1965* 12; *CO S.12.1965* 8, *RD 2.6.1967* 5; *UR 6.6.1967*:2-3; *Strike 12.12.1969* 14-15; *REA 21.5.1970*. One event stands out as an exception to the general picture of gradual student acceptance of the EUS. In 1966, eight students from the Faculty of Law sued the university in the High Court, questioning whether the Faculty Council had the power, according to the HSIU Charter, to make EUS a degree requirement. Requirement was particularly strong among the eight because they were members of a group of 7, of whom nine would be exempted from EUS because they came from the army, navy, and other government agencies. The judgment of the High Court declared the establishment of EUS to be outside the power of the Faculty Council and therefore null and void. The university appealed the judgment, which was vacated by another judge, and a chaotic sequence of events took place in which the Minister of Justice intervened, judges were suspended from the High Court, appeals were made to the prime minister, and the students finally dropped their case (*R-E 7.6.1966*, Haile Selassie Gebre Kidan, "A Study," 1967 21-24).
79. *UR 25.4.1967*.
80. *Struggle 28.10.1969* 11.
81. *UR 6.6.1967*:3.
82. *UR 25.10.1967*:6.
83. *CBTSM January 1966*:9, April 1966 3.
84. *HSIJ, EUS Handbook*, 1966, Appendix. Document 6.
85. *Struggle 14.12.1967* 12-13.
86. Ibid., Gillette, "A Novel Approach to Student Developmental Work," 1967; *Bulletin October 1964* 9, June 1965; *R-E 14.5.1970*, *Struggle 14.12.1967* 12, 2.1.1968.2, 8.
87. *UR 6.6.1967*:2-3.
88. *EUS Field Supervision*, by Kothin, 1971 1-8; *Diary 19.5.1973*; *Strike 12.12.1969*: 14-15.
89. *RD 2.6.1967*:5, *Struggle 2.1.1968* 1, 4.12.1968:2, 3, 28.10.1969 2; *LC 8, 23.10.1970*; *LC 107, 21.2.1973*; *LC 108, 20.4.1973*.
90. See chapter 5.2

3:4 Champions of the Underprivileged

Ethiopia had numerous and complicated systems of land tenure.¹ Large areas in the north had communal landownership, and in the conquered south, where imperial land grants had been used to reward service and loyalty to the throne, private holdings were common. Throughout Haile Selassie's reign, land was mostly granted to already wealthy landowners whose support was necessary for the regime. Approximately half the holdings in the southern provinces were peasant owned, but estimates from five provinces indicated that from 28 percent to 45 percent of the measured area was held by absentee owners. It was widely realized that the tenancy system was a fundamental obstacle to improved farming methods, increased productivity, and larger tax revenues. However, despite declarations of intent to rectify the worst effects, the government throughout Haile Selassie's reign systematically favored the large landowners, even at the expense of its own tax revenues. After all, the members of the imperial family were the greatest landowners in Ethiopia; their wealth, and that of others procured by tenancy farming, was the privilege of their political power.

In February 1965 a law was discussed in parliament concerning landowner-tenant relationships.² The legislation would have cut the landowner's share of the harvest from 75 percent to a maximum of 30 percent. Landowners would not be allowed to evict tenants unless four years' notice had been given, and they could no longer demand traditional labor services. Parliament was crowded during these debates, and people even came from far away to attend. Discussions were hot, and some deputies opposed the law so furiously that they withdrew.³ (When a similar proposal was discussed again in 1971, 1972, and 1973, the atmosphere was no less heated. It was rumored that revolvers were drawn.) Pressure from landowning interests inside and outside parliament ensured that

no vote was taken, despite the fact the emperor was understood to favor the proposal, and Sweden had threatened to discontinue agricultural development assistance if it did not pass.⁴ In 1965 there was no government propaganda about the matter, no effort to foment popular enthusiasm for the tenancy bill. Rather than a serious proposal, events seemed staged to appease those nations offering aid to Ethiopia whose pressure for agricultural reform could not be ignored. The only news concerning the debate in 1965 were two editorials in *Addis Zemen* containing facts about the content of the proposed law but less than half-hearted support. The historical significance was all but neglected, although *Addis Zemen* stated that deputies who opposed the law did not understand that a change in land tenure could greatly help Ethiopia's economy.⁵

Land to the Tiller

In connection with the parliamentary debate on the tenancy bill, the university students demonstrated on February 25, 1965. The NUEUS resolution passed by the Fourth Congress nine months earlier was fully in line with the proposed bill, but by now the climate of student opinion had changed radically. Unlike the NUEUS congress the UCU did not support contracts between land-owners and tenants because it did not want to "perpetuate the existing system of tenancy." Their main slogan were "Land to the Tiller" and "Away with Serfdom," amounting to a revolutionary land redistribution.⁶ The thinking was simple: Tenants must be able to own land, and those who had been dispossessed must get their land back.⁷ *News and View* argued that most Ethiopians did not own land, yet the country depended almost solely on agriculture for economic development. The insecure tenant had no incentive for improving methods because the land was not his. The system was unjust and could no longer be tolerated. Ethiopia's progress "almost wholly depends on land reform." It was admitted that history had shown the process to be slow, but if the country was to "keep in pace with the emerging countries of the world...land reform in Ethiopia should take much less time than it has taken in other countries."⁸

The students left classes without permission, knowing they "would not be permitted to go for such a purpose."⁹ When they were lining up, the police tried to dissuade them from marching, promising that high government officials would come and speak to them on the issue. Despite police reinforcements blocking their way the students "forged ahead" and finally "burst" through the gates of parliament.¹⁰ The president and some members of the chamber of deputies listened to the UCU resolutions, read by Getru Gebre Wold, which were then handed over to the president for promised to make them known to the other members.

There is a spirit reminiscent of the December 1960 student demonstration in the reports of this venture, which had the same enthusiasm and excitement.

"The students, triumphantly marched out singing 'Land, land, land to the tiller'"¹¹ They marched to the Mercato—the market area, and the police relaxed after realizing they were not going to the palace. "On the way a few people were crying something with tears in their eyes and arms stretched towards the sky. Except them, the bulk of the spectators were struck with amazement and silently stared." People joined the procession making the students feel even more "intrepid and pads to their purpose."

The deans of Arts, Science, and Education had warned students not to leave classes by putting up notices saying "today is not a holiday."¹² After the demonstration the council members of the UCU were informed they had illegally absented themselves from classes. The students replied they did not know they had to seek university permission before holding a public demonstration.¹³ The 1964 Faculty Council regulation did not expressly prohibit student demonstrations, but the detailed, enumerated purposes for which a student organization might be chartered within the university was definitely intended to exclude such as undertaking. The gist of the regulation was that activities should be confined to the university community.¹⁴ Charters were required so the university could protect its interests against activities by the organization which would harm the University.¹⁵ HSTU's central mechanism was the constitution of the student organization which had to state its purpose and which had to be submitted to and approved by the Dean of Students before the group could be allowed to operate. If the dean, after having consulted SAC, found that an organization had "clearly violated its constitution to the detriment of the University," its charter could be revoked. The constitution of the UCU was not available to the author so what had been officially accepted as its purpose cannot be stated. However as the Faculty Council legislation did not define what was detrimental to the university, there was a degree of judgment in each case depending on which university official made the decision.

As a consequence of the demonstration, a committee from the faculties of Arts, Science, and Education, supported by the university administration, resolved that the UCU and its various organs should select faculty supervisors because students had left their classes "and for no other reason."¹⁶ The committee emphasized that "the right of operating this University belongs to the staff and administration rather than to students." It justified the firm action by asserting that a just amount meant thousands of dollars wasted because lectures were paid and did not work.¹⁷ This rationale became the standard argument in later years when student boycotts and demonstrations increasingly interrupted the educational program. At this stage however, boycotts were rare and considering the reasons for this one, the university's rationale seems so sophististic that the reaction can only be explained as a result of government pressure.

Students were very bitter about the anti-use of the staff and administration, who were said to doubt the sincerity of the students' actions.¹⁸ Just the

government, through the radio, tried to misinterpret the spirit of the demonstration and partly succeeded in making the students the "laughing stock" of the country was to be expected, but that the authorities from whom "moral support and heartfelt encouragement" were expected only buried themselves with punitive measures was considered "a very serious stab that neither we nor the coming generation will forgive!" The emancipation of the serfs "whose sweat is sustaining us here in this University" had to be considered a national challenge "which ought to have been backed particularly by the native intellectuals, like the University authoritatis."¹⁷ A couple of months later the HSIU president was reported by Radio Addis Ababa to have told the press that the students had demonstrated "in connection with squatters...matter which did not concern them."¹⁸ Students strongly felt that the cause of the demonstration had been ignored.¹⁹

The Refusal to Accept Supervisors

Protest was vigorous against the new regulation concerning supervisors. It was seen as a way to control student activities and to suppress the student movement.²⁰ The demonstration and its outcome had raised the question of the role the university should play in society. According to student thinking there were two alternatives: the university as "caste," cut off from Ethiopian society, producing expertise and guidance to be called for only after graduation, or the university as integral part of the society, where students prepared for careers but also were free to show concern for and study everyday realities. The students' choice was obviously the latter.²¹

On March 10 the UCU executive council, with a mandate from the majority of the student body, sent a letter to the university administration refusing to accept supervisors.²² The decision was by no means unanimous, and two members of the council resigned because they disagreed.²³ Probably many concurred with the College of Agriculture's *Campus Observer*, which blamed the UUC students for "rejecting the idea of supervision fully...The council seems to be confused and does not realize who runs the university."²⁴ The president of the university characterized this act as a "direct usurpation of University authority"; he informed the student body that the UCU was suspended and all its rights and privileges withdrawn. *News and Views* was stopped, and relations deteriorated further when the students met in the cafeteria to discuss the decision but were driven out by university guards. When the students attempted to continue the meeting on the football field a squad of police and the fist brigade surrounded them and ordered them to disperse. During this meeting the executive council asked for its dissolution by the student body, which was done.

The cafeteria was closed, and students were forced to collect money for food in the streets and offices. Reportedly, the second day E\$400 was collected,

which gave 50 cents to each student.¹³ The student council of the other Addis Ababa colleges and the NL EUS president met to discuss the need for reopening the canteens, the question of supervision, and the use of police force against students. They agreed to approach the president on behalf of the UC students. They voted to accept "advisors" with limited powers, even if some "refusals" abhorred the principle of university "spies." The meeting strongly condemned the use of the police, but in the face of all that was at stake they did not vote on this issue.¹⁴ A condemnation of university policy in this respect was not feasible when the students were reduced to begging for food.

The president agreed to open the canteens on the condition that no unauthorized meetings be held there. The student paper of the College of Engineering vividly expressed the president's irritation, quoting him as "tired and tired" of the UC students and as saying he had decided to take the "strongest measures possible to see to it that the university organizations were obeyed."¹⁵ The president of the College of Engineering Union deplored the fact that capable, moderate people in the UC refrained from taking leadership. As a result, there were students who cared little what was happening in foreign countries, where Ethiopian problems should be solved in the Ethiopian context.¹⁶ The College of Business Administration Union, long the target of UC contempt and wrath, came out in strong support of the UCU. According to an editorial in the CBAU paper, "They Have All Our Sympathy," the UC students had no choice but to refuse the idea of faculty supervisors. "Subjecting all student activities to faculty supervision gives students with virtually no freedom of expression and inquiry"¹⁷ and this freedom was considered to be their right.¹⁸ The administration's attitude was seen in the broader perspective of Ethiopian culture, the prevailing feature of which was a demand for conformity. "Even as college students we will continue to be plagued by the subtle pressures of culture which have a strong bearing upon us to be as others are to think as others think, and to act as others act."¹⁹ Without freedom of independent thinking the students would "develop a restricted mind as far as creativity is concerned."²⁰ The administration was reprobated and asked to renounce its "repressive measures" against the UC.

There was considerable sympathy for the student demonstration from individual teachers. Beforehand some Ethiopian staff members had discussed the demands both in and outside classes, and a handout had joined the demonstrators.²¹ In April SAC recommended that students should help teach clubs and societies but that the student councils should be "left to look after themselves."²² indicating opposition to the administration's stand. The word supervisor was not even used in the minutes of this meeting. Now and Then, just after the new regulations were known, admitted that advance was needed for some organizations for not supervisors, and for the student government no such supervision could be accepted.²³ It seems the students and SAC were not far apart. SAC also resolved to approach students about discussions aimed at

"bringing about a better situation at the UC." It is difficult to determine to what extent this intention was followed up.

Indefinite Suspension of Nine UCU Officials

On May 7, according to the official university *Bulletin*, "a minority of UC students met and elected nine officers to run their union as members of an executive committee." The meeting was held without notifying the administration and without permission.³¹ On May 10 the elected committee went to negotiate with the academic vice-president, who asked whether they were aware that holding office in the suspended union was in "flagrant contradiction to the clear instruction" issued by the president. The students replied they knew this, and they were then suspended for an indefinite period.

On May 13 students tried to march from the Arat Kilo campus to the offices of TCUU administration at Sikut Kilo campus to protest the suspension. There was a violent clash with the police, which the official university *Bulletin* said took place between the Meleck II School and St. Mary's Church, about 100 meters from Arat Kilo. The *Arme Perspective* reported that police stormed into the campus "with huge clubs after an order from somewhere and somebody" to beat students who were lining up for the demands ration. "Yes, it was bloodshed and true bloodshed of the students."³² The violence erupted after a police colonel had tried to stop the march on the grounds that the students were not a "legally recognized body and did not have permission to march." The students refused to say two students were seriously injured and quite a few were impounded, although the university did not know the exact numbers.³³ Members of the senior staff of the above city, like Adde Habte, tried in vain to convince the students that the administration did not know anything about the police intervention.³⁴

The students were extremely bitter. The police attack, the second in a few months, was termed "brutal, hostile and barbaric a shameless episode." A mistake committed once was considered "forgivable" but "in repetition...in magnified dimension, will be fully disapproved, condemned and cursed without any hesitation." *Arme Perspective* held the administration responsible for the police attack because of their "stubborn attitude" toward the many approaches

* Those expelled were Gebre Lebre Wold, former UCU president, Habie Georgis, Hailu Gebre Yohannes, Serum Woldie Yohannes, Teye Gurmu, Yohannes Sebhate, Zewi Ahechash, Berhane Meskel Rodus, NL'EUS secretary and Michael Abebe (copy of undated letter to Student Affairs Committee, 1966, from the expelled students concerning readmission to the university). The last two had by then left Ethiopia. They were not readmitted until January 1967 and two were readmitted in spring 1966 (SAC Minutes 11.12.1966 and 20.10.1966). The condition was their nonparticipation in student organizations.

made by student councils of other colleges. They were accused of having a "distorted concept of Ethiopian students" and of making "careless and sudden decisions." It was stressed that misunderstandings and differences between university officials and the students must be settled "through mutual reconciliation and sensible compromising"; outside force and violence could never bring about peace. It called for a "complete reform" in the handling of student affairs at HSIJ, a change which must drop the restrictive and suppressive measures against students and transform the system of punishment. "Merely because he is chosen to be a student leader by a majority vote, a student is charged with a 'crime' and suspended from the university for 'not less than fifteen months.'" The paper called for replacement of the university officials responsible.²⁷

The NUEJS and the student unions of the several colleges asked permission from the administration to appeal to the emperor. Students from all colleges were allowed to march to the Old Menelik Palace on May 14. NUEJS President Yacub Hailu Mariam read a letter demanding the release of the detained students and the reprimand of police for their brutality.²⁸ The emperor reproached the students for coming in such large numbers, saying he had on previous occasions asked them to send representatives. He reminded them of his efforts to build the educational system. "We made you receive free education, which is better than money or land." He reminded them he had repeatedly told students not to hold meetings without permission, as this was harmful for Ethiopia. Their actions would undermine Ethiopia's reputation abroad and would be used against it. The emperor told students that universities had been closed in Spain and Nigeria, indicating they might be taking the same.²⁹ The demands were hardly touched upon, and the appeal did not lead to readmission of the nine suspended students.

Concluding Remarks on the 1963 Demonstration

The LCL had not created the issue upon which the students acted, they responded spontaneously to a debate going on in parliament. The decision was so hasty that other colleges were not even informed, an omission which weakened the effect. Staging the demonstration in front of parliament was new and significant in the history of modern Ethiopia. The attempt to influence the legislature constituted acknowledgment of them as representatives of the people and as a source of supreme power, an image which did not correspond to reality. The proper procedure in the Ethiopian context would have been to petition the emperor.

Interestingly, the University Alumni Association's resolution protesting police brutality against the students, whose right to express themselves it supported, was distributed among members of parliament. Samuel Alemayehu, who was

secretary-general of the association and who drafted the resolution, was afterward questioned by the security police. He was accused of subversive activities and told that the Alumni Association should have protested to the emperor instead of members of parliament. The association's position was that these were the "representatives of the people."⁴⁰

The stand taken by the students was revolutionary in its effect and indicated that the UCU leadership was far to the left of the NUEUS Fourth Congress. The abolition of landlordism and the principle that land should be owned by the farmer who worked it became the solution to the complicated issue of land tenure propagated by Ethiopian students at home and abroad during the following decade. The sharp reactions by the university administration and UCU student leaders suggest that both had ulterior motives. The administration wanted to stifle the political aspirations of student unionism, while UCU activists sought to create an atmosphere in which further agitation could take place.

The university response brought out student contempt and hatred for the administration, which was henceforth openly challenged in actions and writing. Student disillusionment focused on the university's lack of concern for the cause for which the students acted, its overreaction, and its inability to defend the university's autonomy against brutal police interference. The administration became the sole target for blame not the Ethiopian government which the university sought to appease.

The Land to the Tiller was a breakthrough for the Ethiopian student movement at home and abroad. It preceded the Fifth Congress of the Union of Ethiopian Students in Europe, held in Vienna in August 1965, and the Thirteenth Congress of ESANA held a month later, the resolutions of which signified the rise of a new consciousness for these organizations. For the first time both unions stated their primary obligation to be the struggle for the removal of the "feudal regime," the "letttering dictatorship" in Ethiopia.⁴¹ They denounced and pledged themselves to publicize the repressive measures taken against students in Ethiopia, and they protested the government's order to the leaders of ESANA to return home within a month on pain of cancellation of their passports. This followed a statement by the ESANA executive in support of the Ethiopian ambassador to the United States, Berhanu Dirne, who in June 1965 resigned ostensibly because of the Ethiopian regime's failure to institute democratic reforms.⁴² The new determination of purpose openly expressed by Ethiopian students abroad in 1965 contributed to the promotion of a World Wide Union of Ethiopian Students.⁴³

The Main Campus Student Union

The break up of the University College at Arsi Kilo when arts and

education students moved to the Sidist Kilo campus, presented SAC with the problem of a new union. The former UCU had been dissolved and its leaders expelled from the university for at least fifteen months. SAC spent much time on the problems of a new union in order to be prepared for a future challenge. SAC encouraged the students to form a union, profiting its members' belief that a university had to provide channels through which "responsible student opinion" could be expressed, as this was seen as an important part of the educational process.⁴⁴ Although SAC wanted a student union to concentrate mostly on developing and enriching university life, the committee also explicitly stated that a union should "represent and express on a wide basis student opinion in the area of public affairs." At the same time, it recommended amendments to the Faculty Council's Legislation which would make such an expression very difficult: the Dean of Students had to be informed whenever students wanted to hold assemblies, and in line with actual university practice, boycotts of classes and the holding of general assemblies during class hours were illegal.⁴⁵ In effect this meant students had to skip a meal if they wanted to attend meetings, or assemblies had to be convened in the evenings, which was inconvenient since students did not live on campus. SAC stressed firmly that boycotting classes or any other organized activity in violation of university rules would be considered a serious breach of the Student Code of Conduct. "It will be no defense to a charge...that the student thought his grievance, motivating his conduct, was just." These terms, and the requirement that no student on academic or disciplinary probation and no freshmen would be allowed to be officers of the new union, were repeatedly made clear to the students who attempted to form one union for the Sidist Kilo campus.⁴⁶ The Main Campus Student Union's constitution, which was finally approved by SAC, contained nothing concerning engagement in national affairs but said that the union would promote the "spirit of student academic freedom, freedom of thought and freedom of expression,"⁴⁷ which had also been a stated purpose of the former UCU.

Is Poverty a Crime? The Shola Demonstration

On May 26, 1966, a demonstration was staged by about 1,500 university students from all colleges in Addis Ababa in the name of the NUEL.⁴⁸ Its background can best be described with the introductory paragraph of the pamphlet distributed by the students, in both English and Amharic, "Is Poverty A Crime?"

Three or four years ago the Municipality of Addis Ababa established a sort of concentration camp where vagrant and poor people from the streets of Addis were rounded up so that the capital might be kept "clean." Their cruel and inhumanistic picking of the unfortunate people from the streets often reaches its peak, when there are conferences

or when prominent guests and heads of state come to the capital. The victims of this "disease process" include the young and the old, men and women, the healthy and diseased, priests and nuns, but all having poverty and misery in common.

Dentention of the poor and sick in camps surrounded by barbed wire was not new in Ethiopia. The government media paid no attention to this practice, and under the prevailing circumstances the ordinary Ethiopian was not particularly disturbed by it. The poor the sick, and the innumerable beggars were a familiar sight. People in comfortable positions often professed ignorance concerning the condition of orphans, lepers, unmarried mothers—in short, the general status of the desperately poor. People who should have known better cited laziness or unwillingness to work as the reason. Many genuinely believed the thousands of lepers in and around Addis Ababa were under government care and that they begged out of greediness for more. It is thus not surprising that when the students raised the issue they were told by the mayor of Addis Ababa and other high government officials that they knew nothing of the camp.⁴⁹ How did the students know? The Shola Camp is situated just a few kilometers outside Addis Ababa on the road to Dejene. A U.S. student doing research on the disabled wanted to interview people there, and Eshetu Chole, president of the Main Campus Student Union, accompanied her as interpreter. The camp shocked and convinced him that the poor and sick would be the right issue upon which students should concentrate their effort, through agitation, to raise the political consciousness of the Ethiopian people.⁵⁰

An investigating committee was formed by NUEUS.⁵¹ The members bribed the guards and entered to take photographs and interview people. The pictures, with accompanying texts, were posted in all colleges for every student to see. Pamphlets were distributed to create concern and a desire for involvement among the student body. It was claimed that an average of 158 people were packed together in each room, the sick together with the healthy, causing an average mortality of 22 persons per week. People were malnourished and sometimes beaten by the guards. The conditions were described as inhuman, unknown in the history of Ethiopia. "This is not a sincere humanitarian action launched by the Municipality of the capital but a craft system through which the underprivileged are eliminated from our 'fastly growing society.' It should be understood that such an attempt to abolish, or better disguise poverty through a semi-nazi concentration camp system is a direct attempt to attack the majority of the Ethiopian people which consists of 90 percent poor, diseased and illiterate."⁵² The Shola Camp demonstration was well planned, and students from all colleges participated, including the Business and Law unions, which were not members of NUEUS.⁵³ When the president of the student union of the College of Theology tried to prevent fellow students from taking part, they promptly ousted him.⁵⁴

The procession on May 26 1966 first went to the office of the prime minister. He met the students, informed them he had received their letter concerning Shola Camp, and had set up a fact-finding committee. He asked the students to return to their classes, stressing that the demonstration was against the law, and the law had to be obeyed by everyone.⁵⁵ The students had planned to take the long route Selassie I Avenue to the Piazza, the center of town, in order to agitate among the public, but before they reached Rue Makonnen Bridge they were stopped by the police, who kicked the students and literally beat clubs. Seven students were detained and some had to be taken to the hospital. Nevertheless, a substantial number managed to reach parliament "to arouse the conscience of the people's representatives" the president of the senate met them and listened to a speech.⁵⁶ He replied that parliament was a legislative not executive institution and had nothing to do with this particular matter. NUFUS desired that students should go back to classes the following day and after heated discussion in a general assembly on the Acri Kafe football field, the students agreed. One group wanted to boycott classes indefinitely and extend the issues to include the release of all "persons arrested without due process of law" and improvement of the "deplorable conditions" in all the prisons of the empire, but this was rejected.⁵⁷

The fact-finding committee was indeed established, and student representatives met a couple of days after the demonstration with the prime minister, the minister of public health, the chief of police, and the mayor of Addis Ababa. They were told that many people had been released from the Shola Camp, that some had been sent to hospitals, that the chronically disabled had been sent to Kefle where they would get better treatment, and that conditions generally would be improved in the camp. Student views had been heard government officials had acted, and the students felt the satisfaction of achievement.⁵⁸ They also felt the public had, to some extent, understood and responded to an essential aspect of the demonstration the protest against arbitrary arrests and the insecurity felt especially by the poor, something which had never been brought to the surface of Ethiopian life because of fear. The gratitude of the victims of the Shola Camp, who told the students they were "at last able to see the sun," was an important response to the student cause.⁵⁹

The government newspaper reported on the demonstration, pointing out that the students had acted against the law.⁶⁰ No explanation of their behavior was offered only refutation of their action. Significantly, the headline of an editorial in the *Ethiopian Herald* read "Demonstration of ignorance" "It goes without saying that the students' allegation was so unfounded that it deserves no refutation. The students were demonstrating in the name of the poor but against the interests of the poor who are being helped and taken care of." The editorial deliberately tried to ridicule the students, calling the demonstration "bootleggers & waste of valuable time a political right-thinking

behaviour," and said to "all those who have Ethiopia's best interest at heart." The student was charged with being ignorant of the conditions in Ethiopia, the country remaining "a volume which he never opened and which he never read." The newspaper did not report that the government had responded positively to student demands. It stressed that it was "obvious" to spectators that the students were invited to demonstrate by "a few ring-leaders who seek advice in education in order to cover up their failures in academic studies." Student response to the editorial was not published in the *Ethiopian Herald*.⁶¹

The government's behavior toward the students after the Shola demonstration was duplicitous. Face to face it demonstrated interest in the cause they raised, while in the radio and newspapers it tried to degrade and ridicule the students in the eyes of the public, attempted to sow seeds of division between the population at large and the educated, and used the police force to minimize the effects of the demonstration.

SAC, now much more active than in spring 1965, responded differently than it had the previous year, when the university had consistently refused to acknowledge the cause for which the students acted. The evening after the demonstration, SAC members called the students to gather in front of Ras Makonnen Hall, where they congratulated them for having made public the facts and details about Shola Camp. Two members of SAC offered to help NUEUS in an effort to raise funds to assist some of the victims.⁶² SAC's positive and encouraging reaction must be seen in the light of two facts. First, it reflected relief that students had returned to classes so quickly; second, it stemmed from the firm idea held by enlightened modern education represented in SAC that students should be allowed to express themselves, provided there was no insult to the government. The Shola issue was much less challenging to the government than land reform, and the faculty could afford to express sympathy and support. A demonstration in Africa Hall against the regime in Rhodesia had been supported to the extent that the university provided buses for the students, although this also served to make the demonstration as inconspicuous as possible to the public,⁶³ while allowing students to let off steam on an issue perfectly in harmony with government policy. This prompted the comment that "the University encourages university students to demonstrate whenever it feels that the demonstration favors the stand of the government and hence brings pride and prestige to the university."⁶⁴

The student demonstrations in 1965 and 1966 concerning land tenancy and the Shola Camp must be seen as marking the development of thinking about the role and obligation of student unionism: active participation in the development of Ethiopia and assistance to the government in reforming the nation. At this time the government might have been able to enlist a loyal opposition; moderate forces were still strong among the students. Instead, it rejected the contribution and exchange of ideas from those who thought it was their

particular moral duty to speak out against injustice. Confrontation was inevitable.

Notes

1. Ethiopian land tenure systems have been described in Schwab 1972:29, 32-34, 65-70; Markschi 1974:73-100, 104-18, and Gilkes ,975. The following is based on Stahl 1974:10-91 and Schwab 1972:76-77
2. Editorial, Let Everyone Get His Share, *AZ Yekatit* 11, 1957 (18.2.1965).
3. *AZ Yekatit* 13, 1957 (20.2.1965).
4. Stahl 1974:165-66.
5. Editorial, Land and Farmer, *AZ Yekatit* 13, 1957 (20.2.1965).
6. Editorial, Land to the Tiller, *N & V* 1.3.1965.
7. LC 94, 1.5.1973
8. Land to the Tiller, *N & V* 1.3.1965.
9. *N & V* 8.3.1965 13.
10. *N & V* 1.3.1965, "What Solidarity?" by Abdul Mejid
11. *N & V* 8.3.1965 13, "Was the Meeting Worth While?" by Ayele Mehestu
12. *AP* 2.4.1965:7 "UCAA Dilemma."
13. Legislation of the Faculty Council of HSL, November 1964. Title C: Student Affairs Section I 39-44.
14. Notice to all University Students from the President 11.3.1965 Editorial, Supervisors! *N & V* 8.3.1965
15. *AP* 2.4.1965:7, "UCAA Dilemma."
16. *N & V* 8.3.1965, "Was the Meeting Worth While?" by Ayele Mehestu.
17. *N & V* 8.3.1965 13, "It never rains but it pours" by Petros Yohannes.
18. *Africa Research Bulletin*, May 1-31, 1965 307C, from Radio Addis Ababa [8-19/5, 1965].
19. Editorial, Supervisors! *N & V* 8.3.1965.
20. See notes 3 and 4, and *N & V* 8.3.1965:1, "Do We Give Up Our Freedom?" by Giants Fida and "University As A Castle Or As A Part of Society" by Samuel Gatabaili.
21. "University As A Castle."
22. Notice to All University Students from the President 11.3.1965
23. *AP* 2.4.1965:7, "UCAA Dilemma."
24. CO 9.4.1965:5.
25. *AP* 2.4.1965:7, "UCAA Dilemma."
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Editorial, They Have All Our Sympathy, *B-B* 15.3.1965
29. *B-B* 29.3.1965:8-9, "Academic Freedom—Too much to expect?" by Tesfaye G. Yacob
30. LC 94, 1.5.1973.
31. SAC Minutes 12.4.1965
32. Editorial, Supervisors! *N & V* 8.3.1965.
33. *Bulletin* 4, No. 9, May 1965
34. *AP* 20.5.1965:6, "University College Crisis."
35. *Bulletin* 4, No. 9, May 1965.
36. *AP* 20.5.1965:6, and p. 15, Commentary: "Still More Absurdities."
37. Editorial, The Need For Change, *AP* 20.5.1965
38. *AP* 20.5.1965:6, "University College Crisis" *Bulletin* 4, No. 9, May 1965.

39. "Addis Ababa College Students Go to SHM," AZ Gibot 1, 1957 (15.5.1965).
40. LC 75, 29.5.1972.
41. Resolutions of the 5th Congress of ESUS Vienna, Austria, August 1965, *Challenge* 6, No. 1, August 1966:13, 24; Resolutions of the 13th Congress of ESUNA, Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 1965, *Challenge* 6, No. 1, August 1966:6, 14, 15
42. Ibid., and Reg 1970:203.
43. Resolutions of the 13th Congress, 1966:14.
44. Memo to University Students in Addis Ababa interested in organizing a Students Union from the Student Affairs Committee of the University Faculty Council, 16.11.1965.
45. James C. N. Paul, "A Brief Note On SAC Meeting 8.Jt.1965"; Resolution of SAC to Faculty Council embodying additional law to be incorporated in Title V (Student Affairs) of the Legislation of the Faculty Council, undated (November 1965).
46. Memo to members of the Election Committee of a group of students desiring to form a Union of Main Campus Students from SAC, 25.11.1965
47. Constitution of the Main Campus Student Union of Harle Sellaseh I University, undated, Article 11
48. *N & V* 1.6.1966:3, "Mammoth Student Demonstration Clashes With Police."
49. Ibid., p. 5
50. LC 102, 27.3.1973.
51. "Mammoth Student Demonstration."
52. Pamphlet, "Is Poverty A Crime?"
53. *N & V* 1.6.1966:3
54. LC 102, 27.3.1973.
55. AZ Gibot 19, 1958 (27.5.1966).
56. Editorial, In Defence of Justice, *N & V* 1.6.1966, and "Mammoth Student Demonstration."
57. *B-B* 7.6.1966 1., "The Confusers, Pretenders and Slaves of Emotion" by Bruk Kebedo.
58. Editorial, In Defence of Justice, *N & V* 1.6.1966.
59. Ibid., p. 3
60. AZ Gibot 19, 1958 (27.5.1966); EH 27.5.1966, Editorial, Demonstration of Ignorance, EH 29.5.1966.
61. A few months earlier, a comment by NCSU president Teshetu Chole on another editorial about university students was sent to the *Ethiopian Herald* but was not published. *N & V* 14.3.1966:10.
62. *N & V* 1.6.1966 3.
63. *N & V* 21.12.1965:14, Letter to the Editor from Bekelie Geleta, and *B-B* 7.6.1966:2, "Demonstration-Degree Requirement" by Gedlu Fara.

Part IV

Confrontation

1967-1968

4:1 USUAA and Struggle

The formation of USUAA, the union of all university students in Addis Ababa, and its paper, *Struggle*, represented a decisive step toward confrontation. From the opening of academic 1965-1966 a group of students had been trying to promote the idea of one union.¹ In fact, when the Main Campus Student Union was formed, one SAC proposal was that a single union would expedite communication within the university.² SAC demanded that all colleges, schools, and faculties represented by the union sit on its governing body, no doubt hoping this would moderate student actions. Student activists wanted the same structure as SAC suggested but for different reasons. A large union meant greater potential for united action. Their objection to the national union and their expressed reason for forming a citywide body was that NUEUS, having to consult Gondar and Allemaya, was highly inefficient for student purposes.³ However, many felt that the proposed organization was just another form of the national union, with Gondar and Allemaya excluded, and hence it was more sensible to strengthen the NUEUS.⁴ *News and Views* ignored the discussions about a new union and expressed the fear it would become "a mere place for ideology," forgetting to combat the "national tragedies" of Ethiopia.⁵ One group of students working for a citywide union was composed of the most zealous and uncompromising activists bent on using it as a tool for political agitation on the national level. They had their roots in the Crocodile Society.⁶

A 36-man committee chaired by Fiseha Bayih, a law student, and with Baro Tumse from the Faculty of Science as secretary, worked on a citywide union, which was inaugurated on April 7, 1966, with about 800 students present. The local unions were undissolved, and NUEUS had rejected the idea.⁷ Former student presidents such as Mulugeta Bezaabch and Getachew Aranya had been

invited as guest speakers. The support of SAC's chairman, Dean James Paul, for USUAA is shown by the fact that he spoke on the occasion.⁸ Dean Paul advised the students to suppress individualism and work together for common interests, words which reflected exactly the intentions of the students. Later events show that Dean Paul hardly understood the significance of his encouragement. In their speeches student leaders stressed the importance of the university in action building, opposing the idea that constructive work should only be undertaken after graduation: "We cannot reap without sowing—it is now in the university that we can create the mentality of cooperation."⁹ At the opening of academic 1966-1967 SAC refused to charter the USUAA constitution because students demanded that the right to demonstrate be included in it.¹⁰

Many students were seriously worried about the prospects of the new union. They remembered that it was a group within the congress of USUAA which had tried to persuade the students to boycott classes indefinitely in connection with the Shola demonstration. That approach seemed repulsive.¹¹ The activists, in the eyes of their opponents, were trying to impose their ideology on the rest, behaving in a highly emotional way. They verbally attacked other leaders, calling them betrayers and hypocrites, and ridiculed their speeches. This was the beginning of the relentless, uncompromising student policy of radicalism. The radical group was still small and insignificant, but it acted as a leaven within the student body. Consequently, there was increasing concern from many quarters that USUAA would be exploited by the hard core of students dedicated to national political agitation.

The USUAA Referendum and Constitution

Such reservations, after the inauguration of the citywide union, made a referendum necessary, the national union conducted the balloting in November 1966.¹² Students were asked to choose between retaining the campus unions or having a citywide union,¹³ and the results proved USUAA was by no means generally supported. Less than half the eligible students voted,¹⁴ 503 for and 410 against, which made the union weak and vulnerable from the beginning, a fact SAC used whenever it wanted to question representativeness.

It is significant that the colleges outside Sidist Kilo voted to retain campus unions and that the citywide proposal won on the Sidist Kilo campus in the faculties of Business, Law, Arts, and Social Work. A pattern emerged similar to the one in the national union: the colleges at Gondar and Alemaya had refused to be dominated by the Addis Ababa students, and now those in Addis Ababa feared domination by Sidist Kilo, which had the largest number and the active groups. Another significant feature of the balloting was that freshmen voted heavily for the proposal while upperclassmen favored the campus unions, which shows it was easier for student activists to find followers among the recent

entants. The administration knew this, and the vote of a first year student counted for only one-third.¹⁵

A few weeks after the referendum the constitution of the citywide union was presented.¹⁶ It had been worked out by a committee of ten students with the assistance of Dean Paul of the Faculty of Law.¹⁷ All full-time students were automatically members of USUAA with the right to elect representatives or to be elected to the governing body, the congress. Freshmen were given one-half vote and could not be elected to the congress. Each faculty, school, or college within the university elected its own representatives, two for the first 100 students, and one for each additional 100. For the offices of president and secretary general the congress nominated three candidates, each of whom campaigned intensively before the student body voted. The congress elected chairmen for the different committees (national and international affairs, finance and publication, student welfare, student-university relations, and social and cultural affairs). These chairmen, the president, and the secretary constituted the executive council. Provisions were made for the congress to remove any member of the executive council who failed to carry out his duties.

Procedures were established so that ordinary members could recall representatives and elect new ones when the majority of the electors so decided. The constitution called on USUAA to "rally behind the Congress in the implementation of its decisions in far as they are in accordance with the spirit of the constitution." It set no requirements concerning the academic and disciplinary record of students eligible for leadership. The parental SAC demand to limit political activism was disregarded. The aims of USUAA were stated to be creation of a student body capable of "playing an active role in the struggle for National Development" and promotion of "conscious and responsible citizenship for the creation of a Modern State." USUAA would work for an "autonomous University life" and for the mobilization of "concerted Student action" in collaboration with the national union. The student cause was solidarity of action for participation in development. Only the last of the six points stated as aims concerned student welfare.

The constitution represented a concession to the students insofar as their ideals were clearly expressed, but words concerning the most controversial issue how students could express their concern on national affairs—were conspicuously absent. Nevertheless, the vigorous language left no doubt as to student activists' objective of using the union as a premium group in national politics.

In January 1967 the first USUAA congress recognized by the university and supported by NUFUS was inaugurated. Faatu Feyth was president, and Iatau Ayele was secretary. President Pansha pledged the new union to a literary campaign of a "magnitude which has never been dreamt of."¹⁸

Struggle

Part III of the USUAA constitution was devoted to the union's paper, which was to be "independent," with no member of the USUAA congress serving on the editorial board. The congress had the power to nominate candidates for editor and two assistant editors, whom the student body was to elect. The trio then chose the rest of the editorial board. The paper was closely connected to the union; however much the editors maintained that it was "entirely independent."¹⁹ The degree of USUAA control over *Struggle*, which became the title chosen, was a constant cause of worry for the administration and SAC.²⁰

The very name indicated that difficulties were ahead. There was determination to make the student publication a platform for debate on social and political problems. Its purpose was to go on "condemning injustice, oppression, imperialism, semi-colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and all the rest of the social evils wherever and whenever they exist...we cannot afford to be indifferent in such a society as ours which is engulfed by all the social problems of a stagnant society."²¹ The students saw themselves in a crucial, responsible position as the "few chosen ones," blessed with the opportunity to pursue higher learning, and for this reason felt they had the responsibility to discuss and debate: "Who else should dream up the solutions for their miscellaneous problems for our people, but we."

Struggle replaced the former student papers, which proved a blow to student journalism because it was not published regularly. Until the end of 1969 only twelve issues passed through the net of Faculty Council legislation. Student interest in the paper was very great, there was no lack of articles, and up to 200 students attended editorial meetings. More than 1,000 copies of *Struggle* were mimeographed and sold, always within the university. People from outside, especially extension students, bought it inside the gates. There were never enough copies, and *Struggle* achieved financial independence from the university.²²

The HSU board of government suspended all student publications at the beginning of academic 1966-1967,²³ ostensibly because the *Struggle* editors had not adhered to the required procedures.²⁴ More than ever before SAC was caught between the restrictions of the board, mostly members of the Council of Ministers, and student demands, between practical political possibilities and universal concepts of civil rights and academic freedom. In this most unavoidable position it was to remain from then on.

SAC's Role

SAC considered the ban on student publications "improper," a "discredit" to the university. The committee explained to President Kasa that "tight control"

could be exercised" and that the paper could be rechartered under new regulations, as could the unions.²³ SAC worked out a new policy statement on student publications²⁴ and organizations²⁵ to be incorporated into the Faculty Council legislation. The statement on student organizations, which repeated all the requirements which had been presented previously by the university, added that students had to be prepared to be judged by national law and that the university could not and would not recognize any student union, including NLEUS, "for the purpose of engaging in off campus demonstrations." There was no trace of SAC's November 1965 statement which had included in the functions of student unions the expression of student opinions on public affairs. The tone of the 1966 statement on publications was almost aggressive, reflecting the views of a group of staff members trying to preserve some kind of student press in the university. In order to protect the right, thus far enjoyed, of not having to submit publications within the university for "government clearance," no one from the university community could indulge in "childish, semi-literate ramblings on politics, or scurrilous personal attacks, or defamatory, obscene or seditious matter, or any other matter which violates laws of the land which are binding on us."

There is no doubt that student representatives in discussions with SAC put heavy pressure on the university to protect them in their political activities. The resolutions of the Sixth Congress of NLEUS explicitly requested the university to protect students from "any danger that might come to them in the process of expressing their academic freedom," which to them also meant expression on public affairs.²⁶ The Dean of Students and the chairman of SAC sent worried reports to President Kassa Gillel Pien wrote: "I am convinced that the student leaders, although they do desire the protection of the University, will not hesitate to force the issues even if they do not obtain the protection they are seeking for. It is clear to me that the student leaders will not accept limitations in order to save whatever academic freedom they are now enjoying on the campus."²⁷

Dras Pien's letter stated: "There is no doubt in my mind that some of our students increasingly view themselves as political persons and see the possibility of raising some cause this year." He reported in detail the discussions with the NLEUS officers and stated that SAC had advised them that even student discussions of public affairs on the campus must be exercised "within the limits of national law."²⁸ The chairman, being also Dean of the Law School, displayed naive optimism about the effectiveness of legislation to solve the problems, perhaps because he was not fully aware of Ethiopian reality, or pretended not to be. He was in a country where liberal laws were instruments to the regime rather than instruments of rule. He wrote to the president, the grandson-in-law of the emperor:

If there were clear government rules relating to demonstrations and other off-campus activity, which the government wishes to control, the University's position would be greatly enhanced we could then point that it is the responsibility of every student to comply with these published rules and be more precise in our warning that any serious flouting of these laws would subject the individual to University disciplinary action.³³

Dean of Students Gilkes Pion said that SAC could not go further in "defence of the positions of the board of governors," although he agreed that the university could not give students "special civil rights." He warned that the statement on student organizations "may provoke very dangerous crisis," and in his view SAC, composed of a fraction of the university staff members, could not be charged with such responsibility. Both Pion and Paul urged a meeting with the board of governors.

On October 23, 1966, Deans Paul and Pion met with four members of the board of governors,³⁴ the first meeting between representatives of SAC and the board. The discussion seemed to dispel SAC's worries concerning the accommodation of student and board interests within the same university. The SAC representatives felt that the chairman of the board, Yves Demers, did not want them to do anything in particular in the field of student affairs, certainly not concerning the suppression of student papers and unions. According to the report of Dean Paul "there was no indication of a wish to impose any kind of censorship." On the contrary, Yves Demers stressed the importance of freedom of discussion and more debates on Biafra and international problems involving students, staff, and government officials. He conceded that students lacked information on government and international problems.

The board's response seems to be an example of the lip-service sophisticated Ethuepians in high positions were able to pay to ideas. They cleverly denied the existence of insuperable problems or contradictions in their society inconvening the irreconcilable when challenged face to face. Again and again the ignorant foolhardy was charmed and misled. After the meeting SAC felt the urgency of the September situation, when President Kinsella had put "heavy pressure" on the committee, had died down. SAC was not at all inclined to let its documents on student organizations and particularly publications be published or enforced.³⁵

In the days after the meeting, students were even invited to elect representatives to SAC which was composed of one elected member from each faculty.³⁶ The fact that student unions, associations, and publications were within the jurisdiction of the committee signifies its importance to the students, but a majority of the USUAA congress rejected the offer.³⁷ They demanded an equal number of positions, and SAC was willing to concede no more than one-third.³⁸ Student leaders were also suspicious of SAC, blaming it for the expulsion in 1965 of the nine elected union representatives, a decision in which SAC had not been involved.³⁹

Struggle and Its Advisors

The difficulties the editors of *Struggle* encountered in trying to publish the paper suggest that conditions had not changed despite the board's seemingly lenient disposition. Each issue was delayed because the editors were unable to find an adviser, a prerequisite for any student publication.³⁸ Staff members approached by SAC or by the editors tended to refuse because it would be an intolerable position to advise "in such circumstances."³⁹ Before the first official issue of *Struggle*, three faculty members refused the job after having looked at the articles intended for publication. After SAC promised an advisory board including a legal adviser on laws governing publications, the three reconsidered.⁴⁰ They also forced *Struggle*'s editors to accept conditions before they agreed to serve, but even so they resigned after a few weeks. Dr. Akidu Habte was then appointed by SAC, but he also resigned.⁴¹ The popular Ethiopian geography lecturer, Menfin Wolde Mariam, was later attacked by *Struggle* and accused of cowardice because he had refused the position. Menfin replied he was willing to be an adviser but refused to be a censor.⁴²

All the nominees felt, with justification that the responsibilities were not clearly defined by the university.⁴³ In reality the adviser had to be a censor and also would be responsible for what appeared in the paper. The Ethiopians feared they might someday be accused of instigating or condoning what students wrote. The difficulties involved not only students' political expression but also, to a large extent the way they presented their arguments and ideas.⁴⁴ Advisors has were associated with the quality of the product and tended to insist on extensive work on articles to make them appear intellectually mature.

The editors of *Struggle* faced a frustrating process. Every article was discussed among the editorial board to obtain agreement, and there was considerable debate concerning linguistic expression. Before the adviser would see the article it had to be typed, a service not readily available. Then followed a meeting with the adviser. "Often there was a tag over every sentence. The articles were changed and changed until you could barely recognize the original," a former student editor commented.⁴⁵

SAC made every effort to get *Struggle* published, and for its first issue and often later, stood as adviser.⁴⁶ SAC members recommended that the constitution of *Struggle*, which gave the editor-in-chief the final say over the paper's content, should be changed to make the whole editorial board responsible, and that there should be unanimous agreement among the editor-in-chief and his assistants before the adviser was consulted.⁴⁷ SAC hoped thereby to contain the activists, and the students accepted because they felt it would be more difficult for the administration to punish many people than to discipline one editor. The new regulation was talked about as the "collective security" measure.⁴⁸

The NUEUS publication *Message*, which was issued infrequently because of disagreement between SAC and the students about the adviser question, finally came to an end.⁴⁹ NUEUS had argued that *Message* did not fall under the designation "student publication" according to the Faculty Council legislation because it was only supposed to communicate student news and report union activities. Hence they objected to SAC's demand that the paper have a faculty adviser. Judging from the handful of issues of *Message*, a regular paper of its kind would have encouraged the politicization of the student unions, since one of its main aims was to keep in touch with student affairs in other parts of the world. Naturally, this possibility was seen as too great a risk by the university administration.

The HSIU president gave the Department of English the responsibility of producing the weekly *University Reporter*, which started in January 1967.⁵⁰ Both staff and students participated as reporters, although no student or staff opinions were ever published, but there were some interviews. Its purpose was to "fill the void of factual news" within the university. Its motto, "Facts Before Opinions," reflected the editors' realistic assessment about what kind of paper could be published. For the first time there was a continuous flow of information concerning university affairs. The student leadership accused the *Reporter* of being the "official mouthpiece" of an administration which had stifled and discouraged student publications.⁵¹ Students were suspicious of and antagonistic toward the paper because of the limited freedom of expression which was its accepted premise. However, the *Reporter* gave invaluable assistance to the student movement by providing daily reportage during and after the student demonstration in April 1967. The paper came to an end after the crisis of April 1968 because it was considered too involved in covering student affairs.

Student Opposition to USUAA

There was in Addis Ababa strong opposition to USUAA centered around a group terming itself the Restoration Committee. It agitated for the abolition of USUAA and the reinstatement of campus unions. Another group also emerged, the Clean Sweep Committee,⁵² which supported the idea of a citywide union but wanted to remove the leadership of USUAA. These groups indicate considerable disagreement with the political trends in USUAA. At the Sixth Congress of NUEUS in March 1967, the question of admitting USUAA threatened to break up the congress; the Alemaya and Gondar delegates more than ever felt they had reasons to fear domination by Addis Ababa student politicians.⁵³ An *ad hoc* arbitration committee suggested that USUAA receive one vote for each of its 23 delegates, Gondar and Alemaya two votes for each, thus would have given Addis Ababa 23 votes representing 2,075 students against 18 combined Gondar-Alemaya votes representing 310 students. Alemaya declined and

walked out. To save the congress and the national union, USUAA gave in, permitting the Gondar and Almaya representatives two and two-thirds votes each, with 24 votes those delegations were able to outvote USUAA's 22 votes.⁵⁴

In March 1967 a petition to SAC for the restoration of the former system of unions had 751 signatures.⁵⁵ In November a new petition carried 796 signatures.⁵⁶ On what grievances was this considerable opposition to USUAA based? The restorers maintained that the functions of USUAA could be headed by the national union, NUEUS. USUAA's structure, according to their arguments, made it so remote that the average student tended to be more faculty conscious and to associate along tribal, religious, and high school alumni lines.⁵⁷ The fact that students lived on many campuses hampered general assemblies, and that decisions affecting all students tended to be left to the discretion of the congress.⁵⁸ The leadership of the restorers extrapolated from statements of one of the university's vice-presidents that the single union could be banned by the government, which made the student movement exceedingly vulnerable. With several unions, activists had a greater chance of survival, as it was unlikely that all would be banned at the same time.⁵⁹ What seemed largely to have begun as a fight over means to reach a common goal, student strength and solidarity, gradually became a bitter fight in general assemblies and a poster and pamphlet war, and basic ideological differences emerged as the core of the matter.⁶⁰

Increasingly, the nucleus of the restorers committee was returned from the United States who had studied for one year on American Field Service stipends.⁶¹ They strongly opposed what they understood to be a monopoly of USUAA by "communist" interests and held that students with different views were

systematically and consistently harassed and attacked. Under USUAA student life in the University has been completely reversed from a free and democratic society to that of dictatorship and reign of terror, from the spirit of confidence and cooperation to that of suspicion and distrust, from positive efforts to negative actions, from active participation to indifference and from relevance to passiveness.⁶²

The replacement of the various campus papers by only one was attacked for disrupting communication within the university, especially since *Struggle* often failed to come out, allegedly due to its "irresponsible character. Does unity mean imposition of the will and the wishes of a clique on the majority?"⁶³ The restorers held that *Struggle* only printed articles which tended to be pro-Parti and that it failed to live up to the standards of a university student publication, presenting "one-sided stereotype opinions containing nothing more than out-dated cliches."

The opposition proved an important and appreciated challenge to the group of activists behind USUAA and *Struggle*.⁶⁴ They were forced to sharpen their ideological weapons. Francis Faran's *The Wretched of the Earth* became

the most important ideological source for Ethiopian political student activists. They also drew inspiration from the writings of Lenin, Marx, Engels, Mao, Che Guevara, and such western leftist periodicals as the *New Left Review* and *Monthly Review*. USUAA activists referred to the restorers as "public enemies" and "right-wing elements" working against an organization which aimed at training the student "to love his people, prepare himself to integrate with the broad masses of the exploited peasantry and to lead these people to a better life."⁶⁴

USUAA blocked, by various means, the restorers' efforts in a general assembly to raise the question of the abolition of USUAA and also their attempt to have SAC carry out a referendum so the student body could decide whether the former campus unions should be restored.⁶⁵ There were obvious instances under one USUAA chairman⁶⁶ when the restorers were effectively denied the chance to speak about their cause. Assemblies were characterized by extended charges and countercharges, walk-outs, and a disregard for democratic procedures. Constitutionality was adhered to only when it was to the advantage of the union. USUAA activists seemed convinced it was more important for unity and solidarity to save the union by any means, rather than risk it by allowing the restorers a fair opportunity to challenge its existence.⁶⁷ The general assemblies on the Arat and Sadiq Kilo campuses never reached the point of a decision concerning abolition of USUAA. The situation gradually calmed down, and SAC felt no need to exercise the power it had granted the f' to hold a referendum.⁶⁸

Why did the opposition fade away? Increasingly, the futility of the battle and the damage to unity made senior students, who opposed SAC intervention, dedicate themselves to excoriating the two groups.⁶⁹ Opposition efforts were also aimed at electing more moderate USUAA leaders. The posters in the USUAA campaign of November 1967⁷⁰ clearly reveal a strong tendency to demand leadership independent of ideological commitment. A president with "moderate and negotiable views," was sought, "an independent thinker uncommitted to this or that party or ideology. The university was not a place to "germinate foreign dogmas. We don't elect our leaders to preach perverted philosophies. We shall bow neither to the eastern nor to the western dogmas." Besides being in line with the general African policy of nonalignment, this thinking accorded with traditional Ethiopian contempt for things foreign and also with the idea that the country's problems had to be solved in an Ethiopian way. "Ethiopia shall triumph! Ethiopia must prevail!" Posters supporting the candidates who eventually became president and secretary, Haile Mengesha and Melesse Habte, respectively, stressed how they wanted to work for truth, peace, and unity within the student body. Extracts of an election speech by Haile circulated on the campuses. It stressed that no problems could be solved unless "our imported ideologies—ideologies which create division and hatred, disharmony and deterioration" were put aside.

The fact that the new leaders openly dissociated themselves from what was believed to be "communism" was probably a concession to restore opposition and served to diminish the attack on the citywide union. At the same time, there was some disenchantment with the restoration view because of what seemed to be an influx of American Field Service returned into its ranks. Their enthusiasm for the American way of life was abhorrent to politically conscious Ethiopian students. The Sixth Congress of NUEL'S in March ,967 resolved that the American Field Service Program was designed to extend the influence of the imperialist powers and contributed to the "cultural colonization" of underdeveloped countries. It was alleged to have created "immature and irresponsible" persons not interested in national issues. One by one, the students from the Restoration Committee, even its leader Gebre Menha, were converted to the political views of the activists.⁷¹ A former *Struggle* editor expressed his doubts for this trend: "The lack of outspoken opposition made us intellectually lazy. The movement became a fad. Ideology was reduced to slogans."⁷²

It is difficult to establish the truth of allegations that *Struggle* did not accept articles opposed to its political views. In an interview with the *University Reporter*, editor Tsegaye Gebre Medhin strongly refuted these charges and asserted that the paper wanted to reflect student opinions.⁷³ The fact that it failed to do so was due to the lack of consciously expressed opposition to the views of its editorial board. Contemporary western political pragmatism seemed to have little ideological inspiration to offer compared to the "scientific socialism" of the activists behind USUAA and *Struggle*. Opposition undoubtedly stemmed from the fear of retribution associated with communism and from reaction to the behavior and strong convictions of the ideologically committed students yet there was great agreement with these students' analyses of Ethiopian society. Yet another factor that would weaken opposition to USUAA was the protest against the government's proclamation on demonstrations⁷⁴, it was to contribute to the polarization between the students and the government and university and to increased unity in the student movement.

The Sixth Congress of NUEL'S

In 1967 the National Union of Ethiopian University Students held its Sixth Congress from March 9-14.⁷⁵ Its resolutions (in a booklet of 41 pages), indicating the great effort that went into preparation, and its purpose was to define student thought concerning their own and the world community. The event was significant also because this was the last NUEL'S congress held during Haile Selassie's reign.

The resolutions claimed that "a dramatic turn" had taken place in the Ethiopian student movement. The enduring purpose had been established to identify

with the general mass of the Ethiopian people. Marxist analytical concepts had decidedly influenced student thought. The resolutions characterized Ethiopian society as having "two major class forces. An overwhelming majority of peasants opposed to a very backward and decadent aristocratic and religious group." The country's socioeconomic structure was described as "an unjust landownership in which the fertile and vast tracts are held by a handful of exploiters. The land arrangement is so crude and reminiscent in some areas of the slave and master relationship of pre-feudal society we are in the epoch of maturing feudalism."

The resolutions refrained from commenting on or characterizing the Haile Selassie regime. There was no talk of revolution, even if the thought was dangerously near the surface in the nation's expressed intention of setting up in cooperation with the "working peasants and workers a national democratic front" and in the negative definition of reformism. It was viewed as a "factual weapon for self-preservation" for the bourgeoisie and described as "lowering the temperature of the ages of the masses." Even if expressed only indirectly, reformism was discarded as a possible strategy for development of Ethiopia. The language of the resolutions also indicated that their originators did not believe Ethiopia could afford a time-consuming democratic strategy. Nevertheless, the resolutions showed in such expressions as the congress "calls upon the government" to improve this or do that seeking direct action within specific fields, as well as "demand" and "condemn" in reference to specific actions. Even more than previous NULUS congresses, the sixth was an unmistakable expression of student attempts to establish themselves as a political pressure group on behalf of the Ethiopian masses. Student dedication to land reform made it the central theme of the congress, entitled "Ethiopia's Future: Agrarian Reform as a Prerequisite in Development."⁷⁴ Mesfin Wolde Mariam was invited to address the issue. Another guest speaker was the ardent Ethiopian nationalist and Harvard scholar Fethiye Ismail who worked tirelessly to raise money in the United States for the literacy campaign.⁷⁵

One Almaya delegate resigned from the congress charging he had been physically threatened by two USUAA representatives when he opposed a committee report on international peace.⁷⁶ Documents give scanty information as to the differences between the students from outside Addis Ababa and USUAA representatives, but tensions existed. These were partly due to the large and consolidated group of politically interested students in Addis Ababa, whose sense of urgency seemed dictatorial to students from a less politically active environment. The Almaya delegate felt he was not free to express his opinion on the conference or his opposition to the wording of a resolution which divided the world into "two hostile camps, the forces of socialism and the exploiting forces of imperialism."⁷⁷ The Soviet Union was virtually ignored in the resolutions, which in no uncertain terms proclaimed support and admiration for Mao's

China and Castro's Cuba, U.S. imperialism was denounced throughout. The congress recognized the "immense achievements" of the Chinese Revolution and demanded the "rightful place" of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. It supported "wholeheartedly" the aims and struggle of the Cuban revolution, which was stated to have "heralded a new era in the revolutionary movement in Latin America." Certainly, there were students who were not prepared to use the following language on the affairs of Latin America. "Reactionary and traitorous local bourgeoisie, oligarchy and compradorate colluding with North American Imperialism" were subjecting the masses "to the most cruel types of exploitation of man by man."¹⁶

The Sixth Congress's views on Ethiopia's national university was a policy statement of wide significance. It rejected the idea that the university was a separate academic community and demanded that it engage extensively in the acquisition of knowledge of Ethiopia in order to become an instrument for social change. "It is our firm and unshakable belief that a university is a community of scholars living in the midst of the people, carrying the cause of the people by whom it is supported and actively engaged in all social transformations." The university's task was to contribute to a deeper understanding of Ethiopia's "objective reality."¹⁷ Stressing that it was vitally important for a student to know all the problems of his nation while still studying, the resolutions called upon the university not to restrict discussions or exchanges of views on the economic, social and political problems of the nation, "even if it is not directly concerned with [student] field of study." The Faculty Council rules relating to academic freedom gave students the right to express and discuss "controversial matters" openly in class in connection with academic work, so long as this was "generally relevant to the subject under study."¹⁸

Only a couple of weeks before the Sixth Congress the Ethiopian University Teachers' Association held a conference on the role of the university in a developing nation. One paper pointed out how Ethiopian students were deprived of knowledge about their own country. Even a political science student learned next to nothing about his own system of government, since he took just one course in that subject, comprising only 2.2 percent of the total number of credits required for graduation.¹⁹ Meleki Wolde Mariam's conference paper stressed that university in backward countries had to participate in public life and be concerned with exposing human suffering.²⁰ As intellectual powers they had to "make it do think to do in the affairs of the states or to exploit the ignorance of the masses. The main function of the universities will be to speak the truth fearlessly thereby giving politics a rational basis and checking excesses." He attacked those western intellectuals who rejected authoritarian regimes for their own societies but found them necessary for others. By doing that they were "dividing humanity between those who cherish freedom and those who do not. They are also justifying the absence of freedom." Meleki's

paper was saying, albeit in general terms, that universities could not accept or defend authoritarian rule. Other presentations, however, were less in line with student thought. Mulugeta Wendijo stressed the need for the university to act in a way which would not "procurse the Government's trust" and that the university had to operate within national law, without specifying what kind of government and what kind of law.⁴³

The Sixth Congress resolutions expressly stated that the student movement was responsible for "the political education of the masses."⁴⁴ An attempt also was made to broaden the base of the student movement by amending the NUEJS constitution to admit high school students in Ethiopia and Ethiopian students abroad.⁴⁵ SAC rejected this on the ground that NUEJS was under the jurisdiction of HSIU and could not therefore include nonuniversity students.⁴⁶ The congress also called "urgently" for the formation of a World Wide Union of Ethiopian Students.⁴⁷ (The preparation for such a union had been going on since 1963, and it was brought to life at the Seventh Congress of the Union of Ethiopian Students in Europe in August 1967.) The students were, on the whole, deeply satisfied with the congress, terming the resolutions "land marks" in the history of the Ethiopian youth movement.⁴⁸ Indeed they were, even though it was felt that much was yet lacking as far as free discussion of national policy was concerned. "One could not very well chew what one cannot swallow."

The relationship between students and government at this point was felt to be so favorable that NUEJS again contemplated registration with the Ministry of Interior as a legal Ethiopian union independent of university jurisdiction.⁴⁹ The Ministry of Education had paid for lodging and food for the invited guests from abroad, and the congress had sought the cooperation of the government by inviting the Minister of Education Akele Work Habte Wod, and Ras Imru Haile Selassie to give opening speeches. A spokesman for the Ministry of Land Reform also addressed the students.⁵⁰ Despite the fact that the congress did not turn its back on the government and even supported it on the Eritrean question,⁵¹ from the government's view the determination and political opinions expressed by the students bordered on the intolerable and may have provoked the harsh actions taken against the students a few weeks after the congress.

Notes

1. CPTSM January 1966:1
2. Memo to University Students in Addis Ababa Interested in Organizing a Student Union from the Student Affairs Committee of the University Faculty Council, 4.1.1965
3. Editorial Should a City Wide Union Be Formed, D.D.I. 1 1966
4. CPTSM January 1966:1
5. Editorial, CPTSM April 1966

6. Ibid., see chapter 3:1
 7. UR 31.1.1967:2.
 8. B-B 5.4.1966, 17.4.1966:3.
 9. B-B 5.4.1966:12.
 10. SAC Minutes 13.10.1966, UR 31.1.1967:4.
 11. B-B 7.6.1966:11, "The Confusers, Pretenders and Slaves of Emotion" by Bruk Kebbede,
 12. UR 31.1.1967:4.
 13. Notice to Students and Staff of NISIU (updated, in SAC file about the referendum result).
 14. Military students and students on the Ethiopian University Service were not eligible to vote.
 15. "Notice to Students and Staff," SAC file.
 16. Constitution, University Students Union of Addis Ababa, 6.12.1966
 17. LC 19 21.12.1970.
 18. UR 31.1.1967:2-3.
 19. Editorial, *Struggle* 14.12.1967
 20. SAC Minutes 26.2.1967
 21. Editorial, *Struggle* 14.12.1967
 22. LC 19 21.12.1970.
 23. SAC Minutes 17.1.1967.
 24. LC 19
 25. SAC Minutes 23.9.1966.
 26. Draft Statement on Student Publications, undated, on the agenda of SAC meeting 26.10.1966 (SAC Minutes 26.10.1966).
 27. SAC Draft Statement on Student Organizations, 12.10.1966.
 28. Resolutions of the 6th Congress of the NUEUS, March 9-14, 1967:17
 29. To President Kassa Woldé Mariam from Gille Pion, Dean of Students, 7.10.1966.
 30. Memo to President Kassa Woldé Mariam from James C. N. Paul, Chairman of the Student Affairs Committee, 6.10.1966.
 31. SAC Minutes 26.10.1966.
 32. SAC Minutes, 26.10.1966, 17.1.1967
 33. Memo to the University Community from Gille Pion, Chairman of the Student Affairs Committee: Proposed Legislation on Student Affairs, 19.9.1968.
 34. UR 3.3.1967:1, 2
 35. "Proposed Legislation."
 36. UR 3.3.1967:1, 2
 37. Legislation of the Faculty Council of Haile Selassie I University, November 1964, Title V: Student Affairs 44.
 38. SAC Minutes 7.3.1967, 28.2.1967, UR 3.3.1967
 39. UR 17.3.1967:5, 24.3.1967:1.
 40. Ibid.; and SAC Minutes 19.4.1967.
 41. *Struggle* 27.3.1968:7.
 42. UR 10.3.1967; Letter to President Aklilu Habte on the subject of Student Publications from Siegfried Pawewang, undated copy, December 1969.
 43. Letter to President Aklilu Habte...from Pawewang, December 1969.
 44. LC 19, 21.12.1970.
 45. UR 28.3.1967:3, SAC Minutes 7.3.1967, 18.5.1967; SAC Report to Faculty Council, 21.3.1968:2.

47. UR .0 3.1967, SAC Minutes 7.3.1967.
48. UR .7.3.1967
49. UR 21.12.1967 4.
50. UR 31.1.1967
51. Joint Press Release By NUEUS and USUAA (undated notice).
52. UR 4.4.1967 1.
53. BO 14.3.1967 13.
54. UR 17.3.1967 2.
55. UR 28.3.1967 1.
56. UR 16.11.1967 1.
57. UR 7.12.1967 1.
58. UR 16.11.1967 7
59. LC 41, 6.4.1971.
60. UR 16.11.1967 7, LC 19, 2. 12.1970.
61. LC 19, 21.12.1970; LC 41, 6.4.1971.
62. Handout to the Student Body from the Education Committee 24.11.1967.
63. LC 19, 21.12.1970.
64. Struggle 3.4.1967 7
65. SAC Report to Faculty Council, 21.3.1968. UR 9.11.1967, 16.11.1967, 30.11.1967-4, 7.12.1967 1, 23.11.1967 6, 30.11.1967 10.
66. UR 30.11.1967 2.
67. SAC Minutes 6.4.1967; UR 18.3.1967 1, 18.3.1967 1
68. SAC Report 21.3.1968.
69. UR 7.12.1967 2.
70. Resolutions of the 6th Congress of NUEUS, March 1967-18. Students in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology collected the texts of the posters used in the 1967 election campaign. My quotations are from Siegfried Pauswangs's collection of the texts.
71. UR 15.5.1967 7; LC 41, 6.4.1971
72. LC 19, 21.12.1970.
73. UR 4.1.1968 7.
74. Will be dealt with in the next chapter.
75. Resolutions of the 6th Congress of NUEUS, March 1967 Introduction, 35, 1, 2, 3. The resolutions demanded the abolition of tenancy, the creation of agricultural finance institutions, the distribution of cheap and efficient farming equipment throughout Ethiopia, and the nationalization of church landholdings.
76. UR 3.3.1967
77. UR 17.3.1967 2
78. UR .3.3.1967 1
79. Resolutions of the 6th Congress, 1967-19, 28, 31.
80. Struggle 27.3.1968 5.
81. Resolutions of the 6th Congress, 1967-15, 17.
82. Legislation of the Faculty Council of Halle-Selbstst. I University, Title V: Student Affairs, November 13, 1964-116.
83. Mirkalci, J., "Know Thyself: The Meaning of Education," 1968 (28-34) 30.
84. Medina Woldts Marium, "The Role of Universities in Under-Developed Countries," 1968, 3-16.
85. Mujugeta Wedajo, "Government and University Relationship and its Implications to University Autonomy," 1967-6 8.
86. Resolutions of the 6th Congress, 1967-2.

- 87. *UR 25.4.1967*:1.
- 88. *UR 15.5., 1967*:1.
- 89. Resolutions of the 6th Congress, 1967:2.
- 90. Proceedings and Resolutions of the Ethiopian Students Association in North America, 15th Annual Congress, held at Indiana University, USA, August 1967:6, *Smuggle* 31.10.1967:4.
- 91. *UR 10.3.1962*:2.
- 92. *BO 14.3.1967*:3; *CO 25.4.1967*:9; *UR .0.3.1967*:2
- 93. Resolutions of the 6th Congress, 1967:11. The Eritrean question is further dealt with in chapter 5.3.

4:2 "Ethiopian Subjects Shall Have the Right..."

In the February 11, 1967, issue of *Negarit Gazette*, the Ethiopian government published a Proclamation on Peaceful Public Demonstrations,¹ establishing the conditions under which these could be conducted. One week in advance permit application had to be made giving time, date, and place of the demonstration, a description of its purpose, its route; the number of persons expected to participate, a description of any signs and placards to be carried or displayed; and the names and addresses of "all persons, groups, associations or other organizations under whose auspices or by which the demonstration is organized or conducted." The Ministry of Interior had five days to refuse a permit. If granted, the demonstration was to be conducted "only under and in accordance with the conditions set forth in a Permit". There were a number of restrictions, the first being the "prevention and avoidance of interference with the activities of any Ministry, Agency or Public Authority of the Government", the second was "the restriction or prohibition of the carrying of inappropriate signs, placards and dangerous articles." The proclamation was to take force two months after the date of its publication, on April 11, 1967.

Student reaction did not surface within the university until early April, partly because of the wish to get through the NUELUS congress successfully. A week before the proclamation's enforcement the text was mimeographed and distributed. Struggle produced a special issue, and NUELUS distributed a pamphlet which discussed the relationship of the proclamation to Ethiopia's Revised Constitution of 1955.² The students made a thorough exposition of the issue, their language reflecting involvement from the School of Law and the inspiration of Marxist thinking. The three hand-outs, all in English, clearly were aimed at raising student concern for the impending legal restrictions on their right to

demonstrate

With good reason the students viewed the proclamation as directed mainly against their political agitation. The Revised Ethiopian Constitution of 1955, Article 43, proclaimed that "Ethiopian subjects shall have the right, in accordance with the conditions prescribed by law, to assemble peacefully and without arms,"⁵³ a freedom cited as an example of the regime's "shadow-dressing" for the outside world. When the Ethiopian students had sought to exercise this right they had embarrassed the government by exposing "the apathetic, ignorant, dullard and trait that has been the lot of the Ethiopian people.... This exposure obviously was not in the interest and to the taste of the classes which benefit from such a situation in our country."⁵⁴ That was why, according to student opinion, the government had to resort to "new twists of legalities."⁵⁵ By obeying the new proclamation the Ethiopian people would be "sealed off from their only source of new ideas" the students.⁵⁶ The movement was being "systematically strangled by depriving university students of their only legal way of struggle." Moreover, Siyugie judged the proclamation an attempt to control the future "fingers of the innocent masses," to erase even the "lastest trace of democracy" arguing that despite the opportunity granted in the Ethiopian Constitution of 1955 "for conscious Ethiopians who are the truest enemies of the system of exploitation of man by man, the road for a legal struggle has been barricaded with strong walls."⁵⁷

The NLEUUS pamphlet argued that Article 43 of the Revised Constitution supposedly had the same meaning as in democratic countries. The constitutions of India and the United States had provisions for peaceful assembly more or less like that "and to be guaranteed" in Article 43, but the difference was that people in those countries actually enjoyed the right. The pamphlet listed examples of violent strikes against the Indian government due to food shortages and in the United States against the war in Viet Nam. If the spirit behind the Ethiopian constitution was genuine, the pamphlet argued, Article 43's qualification "in accordance with conditions prescribed by law" should not be a serious restriction and was "in contradiction with the substance and the basic spirit of this right." The new proclamation's "conditions" sought to prevent interference with the activities of government agencies. "What does this 'interference'" mean? What is a 'dangerous' article? What is an 'inappropriate' sign? What is an 'inappropriate' placard?" Obviously, the pamphlet argued, it was "anything that criticizes the Government, anything that exposes the ill and grievances of the Ethiopian people."

The government argued that such restrictions as given in the Proclamation on Peaceful Demonstrations were provided for in Article 63 of the Revised Constitution.⁵⁸ It read "Respect for the rights and freedoms of others and the requirements of public order and the general welfare, shall alone justify any limitation upon the rights guaranteed."⁵⁹ The student pamphlet insisted that no

peaceful demonstrator would attack citizens or destroy private and public property; this would indeed be a violation of the rights and freedoms of others, but such acts would be punishable anyway under the relevant articles of the Penal Code. The conclusion of the NUEUS pamphlet was that the new proclamation was unnecessary and unconstitutional.⁹ The students were not alone, as some parliamentary deputies also maintained the essence and spirit of Article 45 was violated.¹⁰ One may also deduce from the content of the NUEUS pamphlet that students were supported by university graduates, within and outside HSIU.¹¹ Unity of mind and idea was one thing, unity in action was something very different.

The Demonstration of April 10, 1967

On Friday, April 7, the executive council of USLAA put up notices of general assemblies to be held on the Addis Ababa campus to discuss the proclamation. Views expressed in the assemblies would help the USLAA congress reach a decision concerning student action when it met the following Sunday.¹² Approximately 450 students attended the Sidist Kilo meeting. It was acknowledged that there was no possibility of having the law repealed. Discussion centered around ways to display opposition, one being letters of protest to parliament and government, another to stage a demonstration either on April 11, when the law came into force, or on April 10. This last suggestion was adopted by majority vote.

On Sunday the USLAA congress and the executive committee of the NUEUS held a joint meeting and decided the protest should be held Monday afternoon, a decision communicated to students on all campuses. Posters advertising the demonstration were put up. Given ample warning, the police appeared near Arat Kilo campus in the morning, and at 1:30 p.m. the students assembled there. It was estimated that more than two-thirds of the Addis Ababa student body was present, around 1,700,¹³ and they voted unanimously to demonstrate the same afternoon.¹⁴ An Ethiopian flag was bought, placards were inscribed, and students began forming lines four abreast on the football field. At about 3 p.m. they started marching toward the main gate, which was closed, and the fence was surrounded by police. Several truckloads of reinforcements had arrived, and as the students approached, the bulk of the police force massed in front of the gate.¹⁵

Faculty members, Dean Paul, Dean Pion, Dr. Girma Aman, Adisu Lemma, and, later, President Kassa were present and tried to mediate between the leaders and police officers, aiming at obtaining permission for the demonstration. Police Colonel Gashew demanded a list of student leaders who would be held responsible for its peaceful conduct. It was understood by staff and student representatives that if the list was presented, permission would be

granted to march with police escort to the parliament and to the prime minister's office to present a resolution condemning the new law. By the time student leaders Mesfin Kassu and Aberto Dega, VLEJS president and USUAA secretary respectively brought the issue General Yilma, the chief of police, had arrived.¹⁶ The general declared that he could not allow such a large demonstration but would permit a small group to go to the prime minister's office. Dean Paul later said he persuaded the two student leaders to accept this offer and to communicate it to the students. The *University Reporter* the following day also stated the offer was accepted but not whether or how it was communicated to the students.¹⁷

The Avat Straus report later tried to establish what happened after General Yilma's proposal was made. According to statements from some students, the offer was presented to the student body and rejected or at least this was what was reported in the newspapers.¹⁸ When General Yilma left, Ethiopian staff members and student leaders claimed that he instructed the police to use tear gas if the students did not disperse within 20 minutes. Tension mounted, some students broke the fence to reach other gates, and when the police blocked the way the students started throwing stones.¹⁹ Police threw the rounds back, then jumped over the fence and entered the campus while the students retreated toward the dormitories and the football field. Police in uniforms and plain clothes followed, breaking doors, windows, and equipment, clubbing students, and exploding tear gas bombs. Private compounds, faculty homes, and classroom buildings were broken into as well as dormitories.²⁰

Property damage to the university by the police was estimated at almost \$10,000. In addition, there was considerable loss in student property, and cars of faculty members were damaged substantially. Until about 6 p.m. students were being arrested, the police beat them and marched them with hands up or twisted behind their backs to police trucks. The scene was later described in a student paper: "We were dragged and trundled out from the cupboards and beds. They buried us down the stairs with uncountable blows and kicks... Slaggering like drunkards we got out of the Hall. Then the police, prodding us with their rifles and sticks, escorted us up to the trucks. I remember the policeman who gave one of the students a brutal kick from behind that knocked him into the truck head first."²¹

The police arrested about 575 students that afternoon, 14 of whom had to stay in the police hospital.²² Most were imprisoned in the 1st and 3rd Police Station or at Kolfe. On Wednesday all except six of the leaders were released.²³ Physical abuse by the police was widespread, and there were frequent incidents of beating "often unaccompanied by any apparent resistance or provocation on the part of the students." One reported that when he and other students arrived at the 1st Police Station they were ordered to lie down and crawl on the sand: "We rolled and crawled without protest. Our submissiveness was admirable."²⁴

When students showed signs of exhaustion "the furious sergeant reacted by grinding our faces into the rough sand. We were half-suffocated before he let us up. To our great surprise, we were transported where we were crowding. The tear gas burnt one of our jail mate's trousers and shirt, but he was forbidden to throw it off." They were made to remove their shoes and perform vigorous and painful gymnastics on the gravel-surfaced courtyard. Then more than 50 students were put in one room "so crowded that some of us had to sleep the whole night sitting against the wall with our knees pulled up."²³ No bed-clothes or food was given, and access to toilet was strictly controlled. At times some were forced to keep the end of a telephone receiver in their mouth.²⁴

The next morning at 5 o'clock the students went again nude to perform exercises before fainting. In the early afternoon they were transported to Kifis, where they were finally given food, and then were shut into a cramped, badly ventilated underground room. There they spent the rest of the day and night on an outhed floor,²⁵ and during the night students were taken for interrogations one at a time. At 5 a.m., in groups of 20 the students were forced to do heavy exercises for about two hours. "Any sign of cheating in the gymnasium brought terrible beating to the offender." Until 10 a.m. the students were required to carry heavy stones on their shoulders about 500 meters from one part of Kifis to another. A glass of tea and a roll were given, and some students were interrogated. Photographs and fingerprints were taken by the police before the students were released and trudged back to the Arat Kilo campus.²⁶ This kind of mass attack was to be experienced by hundreds of students in subsequent years.

The seemingly unnecessary police violence may have originated in strong feelings of resentment and jealousy on the part of the body educated and poorly paid policemen toward what was perceived to be the soft, privileged life of the student. While the police were vigorously beating students who were crowding on the ground they reportedly said "Let the eggs and cheese that you ate, and the milk that you didn't come out now." They struck students with "such action as if they were beating a mule."²⁷ Corruption—as well as police—response to student opposition must be seen in reference to traditional ways of training children, in which corporal punishment was normally used to correct unpleasant behavior. Dr. Girma Asse has stated that physical punishment was constantly employed in traditional Ethiopia to ensure that the child grew up to be God-fearing and obedient to his parents. "The more life is rendered miserable for the child, the surer it is to make him an adult of sound character and moral integrity."²⁸ The government treated students as children whom it could beat, threaten, and humiliate in order to obtain submission and obedience.

The Aftermath

Student representatives put pressure on the administration to secure the

release of the detained students and, together with representatives of the dean's council and SAC, tried to obtain information about the arrested and wounded in the police hospital.⁵³ President Kene arranged for students and staff to visit Kolfe,⁵⁴ and student representatives were also present to negotiate the final release of the mass of students. Few classes, if any, were held the next day. In the afternoon a general student assembly at Sidis Kilo agreed not to attend classes until those arrested had been released. Police armed with clubs, tommyguns, and tear gas surrounded the campus. A tense situation developed as students remained inside the gate, and high school students in large numbers assembled outside. Throwing tear gas grenades, the police charged a short way up the drive inside the campus, but the situation calmed down when the students retreated from the fence. They sang to attract public attention, and when people gathered they were dispersed by police. Thus, by Tuesday afternoon the students were confined to the campuses, the gates locked.

On Wednesday morning 700-800 students voted at Arat Kilo not to attend classes until all students were released. They also agreed not to provoke the police, but to sing protest songs in Amharic to attract public attention and to explain their cause. Crowds gathered but were again dispersed, and the roads were blocked. Where they were repressed the students resumed their chanting, which included appeals to their parents to rise up against oppression, and the roads were again closed. The students also tried to appeal to the police, explaining that they held no grudge for the events on Monday because they understood the police were only obeying orders.⁵⁵ In subsequent crises the students always tried to win over the police.

At about 6 p.m. on Wednesday, HSU president Kene Woldie Manem arrived at Arat Kilo campus from a board of government meeting at which the chancellor of the university, the emperor, and many ministers had been present. He asked Deans Pion, Aklilu, and Paul to present the students with an ultimatum: By midnight there had to be assurance that students would return to classes at 8 a.m. the following morning, or the university would be closed indefinitely.⁵⁶ The Ethiopian government also announced that student meetings were forbidden.⁵⁷ From then on, decisions concerning the university were taken by the government, and administrative officials were simply told what to do.

Students maintained that only a general assembly could decide student action, and a meeting could not be held before morning. They asked for an extension of the deadline, and President Kene secured from the prime minister an extension of 30 minutes, until 8:30 Thursday morning. Despite efforts by Ethiopian staff members, students decided on a boycott until all those in custody were released. Sometime later the students were assembled, and President Kene read a message from the emperor, closing the university to all who did not "wish to consume their studies."⁵⁸ Police entered the campuses, and students were asked to leave, which they did without incident.⁵⁹

The university would reopen the following Monday for students who had re-registered by 4 p.m. Friday for students living on campus and by 1 p.m. Saturday for those who lived outside.³⁹ Closing all university facilities—instruction, food, and board—to those who refused to comply with government orders divided and frustrated the student body. The government's tactic was to make an example of the student leaders as to what it those who replaced them. At stake was the strength and unity of the student body to stand behind and protect its leaders from the government. Still in custody were Melesin Kassa, president of NUELUS, Tewoldegn Haile, editor of *Struggle*, Abay Abreha, vice-president of NUELUS, and Hailu Ayele, secretary of USUAA.⁴⁰ Whether the students could get them out of prison was a question of life and death for the future of the student movement in Ethiopia.

Closure of the university for the individual student meant the loss of the chance, at least temporarily, for a university education and a degree. Administration officials secretly believed the university was "under the gun" and persuaded individual students to comply with the registration orders.⁴¹ Moreover, there was the immediate problem of what to eat and where to sleep, no small matter for people totally dependent on the university for their existence. Consequently, re-registration generated queues and tension. The *University Reporter* wrote of students standing about watching their registering until the police disbanded them.⁴² Many accusations were made that some students applied "burns of an unpeeled onion" on others waiting to register during the Thursday to Saturday period. Some parents attempted to register their children, and students tried to register by telephone, for fear of reprisal by unregistered students.⁴³ Those who registered despite the majority vote of the student body risked being called " betrayers" of the cause and were told they would be condemned by "history."⁴⁴ No student however find any statement charging corruption with the SAC fair finding constitutes

By 2 p.m. Saturday 671 students had registered, the majority from the military and police, the directors and supervisors from the foreign communities in Addis Ababa, and 120 tenth-grade students from the laboratory school of the Department of Education.⁴⁵ Among those who registered, the number who came directly from the secondary schools and were dependent on the university for their food and lodging remained very low.

On Thursday, when most students had been released except for the fourteen in the police hospital and the six who were to be prosecuted, a group of law students filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus with the president of the high court.⁴⁶ By that time the 48-hour limit within which Article 31 of the Revised Constitution required a trial person to be presented in court had expired. Two were released on Friday.⁴⁷ On a second petition from the law students, the few remaining students were presented in the high court on Saturday morning and released on bail of E3100 each. The four were the

president and vice-president of NUEUS, the secretary general of USUAA, and the editor of *Sinigie*.⁴⁷ They returned to the university just after the final deadline for student registration on Saturday had expired.⁴⁸

Student leaders then asked Dean Paul for permission to hold a general assembly to determine whether the boycott of classes would stop. He explained that the administration would obey the emperor's forbid student meetings on campus and permit only re-registered students.

A student meeting was thereupon held in the compound of Menelik II School next to the Arat Kilo campus. It was decided to return to classes and postpone further action until or unless charges were pressed against the four leaders. Permission to hold this meeting came from high government officials. When the deadline for registration was about to expire, President Kassa asked members of the dean's council whether it should be extended. They maintained that the university itself could not do so, since the deadline had been set by the government. In the evening, however, Radio Addis Ababa announced that registration had been extended until Monday, and the *Ethiopian Herald Sunday* edition quoted a "university spokesman" confirming this.⁴⁹ By Monday the university was again functioning.

Attitudes of University Faculty and Officials

Faculty attitudes toward the student protest were revealed in meetings held on the morning and afternoon following the demonstration. Approximately 90 staff members attended,⁵⁰ and they drafted a message to the HSIU chancellor containing three resolutions prefaced by a statement of facts concerning the events.⁵¹ The resolutions demanded the immediate release of all imprisoned students and strongly condemned the "severe and illegal invasion" of the campus and the "brutality" of uniformed and plain clothed police. The message said that until the students were released, those faculty members supporting the statement considered it "unpracticable" to continue teaching classes.⁵²

Deans Abrehamed, Mulugeta, and Paul addressed the faculty meeting, stating they agreed with the resolutions but feared strong condemnation of the police might jeopardize the ongoing negotiations and delay the release of the students.⁵³ A motion to reject narrowly failed, and the resolutions were given to President Kassa with the request that he deliver them to the chancellor. Thus, there is no doubt that the students had sympathy and support from the teaching staff,⁵⁴ who also visited students in the police hospital.⁵⁵

The statements from the three deans excepting support for the content of the staff resolutions indicated their sympathy for the students' cause but did not mean support for their actions, or for the staff protest which could endanger the functioning of the university. The deans saw their role primarily as guardians of the university's existence and filed no resolutions, protests, or

condemnations. When some law students sought the advice of the deans about their intent to seek habeas corpus relief for the arrested students, they were told that the "University" could not endorse such an action, but as private individuals the deans encouraged them to do so. During the week of crisis, these officials followed the directions of the government to an extent the government itself was not prepared to go, working hard to persuade the students to re-register before the various "deadlines." In this perspective the student cause was not taken into consideration. Never was there a possibility of the university joining the students in their struggle.

The initial student attitude toward the university during the week of troubles was one of trust, reflected in student willingness to cooperate fully with SAC to establish information centers where all the facts relating to the crisis and the student arrests would be collected.⁴⁴ The mood turned to suspicion and distrust, reflected in the later student refusal to cooperate in any way with the fact-finding project, believing that the university would use the information to the disadvantage of individual students.⁴⁵ Student views altered because of police and government intervention in the affairs of the university.

The most important incident occurred on Friday, April 14, when four students went to the Dean of Students to report a rumor that one of the wounded had died in the police hospital and had been secretly buried.⁴⁶ The news, they said, had come from a nurse in the hospital.⁴⁷ President Keane, SAC, and student representatives went to the police hospital and found that the story was false.⁴⁸ Back on campus the four students were locked in separate rooms to be interrogated by police. A fifth student, from the *University Reporter* came to ask the president about the rumor, and Keane ordered him locked up as well.⁴⁹ Three SAC members were then present. The fact finding committee could not determine whether the police arrived by prior appointment or were called in by the president after the students had been confined to separate rooms. The first version was "suggested" by President Keane, who said police at the hospital had traced interrogation was necessary to catch the people who were spreading the rumor and had followed the officials back to the university. SAC members thought the second version might have been the case. The five students were taken to Police Station No. 5 and were not released until the following day. The *University Reporter* could not obtain any comment from President Keane about the case, and no SAC member could explain why or on whose orders the five were arrested.⁵⁰ SAC's fact-finding committee could not obtain any information from the five students involved, although each was contacted. This shows both the profound student suspicion of university officials and the fact that students were fully prepared to follow leadership orders and "completely reject" cooperation with the fact-finding committee.⁵¹

It is tempting to see government actions as intended to deflect student hostility from itself to university officials. This was certainly the result of the

press and radio treatment, which quoted statements from university officials that never came from any administration source.⁶⁴ According to these reports only "a handful of agitators...prevented students from attending classes."⁶⁵ Addis Zemen wrote that ten students collaborated with foreign enemies of Ethiopia to make their fellows hate their country.⁶⁶ The university made no effort to refute the distortions, even when they were said to come from the university.⁶⁷ What was worse, the statements were not disavowed even within the university community.⁶⁸ The government's description of the demonstration, apart from stressing that few students were involved, also stated that it was the work of people "who have not even read the law" against which they were demonstrating.⁶⁹ "Some" students were arrested because they started throwing stones,⁷⁰ and twenty policemen were said to have been wounded.⁷¹ Nothing was said about the injured students or the damage to university property. On the contrary, policemen reportedly tried their best to do their duty with "patience and restraint," and talk that students had been arrested and imprisoned en masse was stated to be "false."⁷² The "four" students arrested for "agitating against public peace and leading a riot in which 20 policemen were injured" had been released. "This is the proof of the rule of law in our country."⁷³ The emperor's speech closing the university to those who did not "want to study" was, as usual, full of parental disappointment and reproach. "Some of you continue to misbehave... You don't see the importance of all the money poured on you."⁷⁴

The Outcome of Mizra 2

Student action on April 10 (Mizra 2 in the Ethiopian calendar) and the ensuing week did not achieve repeal of the new law on demonstrations. Still, Struggle claimed a "multifold success."⁷⁵ There was deep satisfaction, mostly because unity and commitment to solidarity had been obtained to a degree never experienced.⁷⁶ Not only did the whole student body in Addis Ababa appear united, but also university students at Alemany struck to support the cause, swallowing their irritation that the undertaking had been launched by the national union without the knowledge of Gonder and Alemany.⁷⁷ Yet another development justified Struggle's claim of a "new era" in the Ethiopian student movement. Secondary students had enthusiastically left school to attach themselves to the demonstration and later struck to increase pressure on the government for the release of those arrested. Because of their support, three secondary schools were closed in Addis Ababa.⁷⁸ After April 1967, an understanding emerged that the university students' cause was also that of the secondary students, at least in Addis Ababa. Support came as well from the Addis Ababa population, which donated money for food and accommodations when the dormitories and canteen were closed.⁷⁹

The confrontation led to deepening conflict between the students and the government. Repression of the students as a political force only strengthened their unity, opposition, and hatred of the regime, and thus aided the cause of the activists. The fact that the movement obtained the release of all students greatly enhanced the self-confidence of the activists. The events of the momentous week of April 1967 contributed to involving large sections of the student population in political thinking and taught a profound lesson in political activism. "Muzen the Second" became, for students, a symbol of their heroic struggle for justice against an antiquated government. If there ever had been a chance for peaceful coexistence and cooperation between Haile Selassie's government and the students, the brutal repression of April 1967 made such a possibility highly unlikely.

The SAC Report

SAC's report on the 1967 demonstration was prepared with an attached section of recommendations to the university administration, meant to reach the highest circles of government through the board of governors.¹⁰ The document went to considerable lengths to explain the relationship between the university and the government and to depict the administration as caught between the government and the student body. The intention seems to have been to convey some basic facts to the government as inoffensively as possible. The core of the message was that the university "as a seeker after truth" must necessarily be concerned to facilitate its students' just demands for freedom of expression and dissent; it should "refuse to participate if the government should be so foolish as to seek complicit repression of all student activism." The report recommended that the university support applications for student demonstrations insofar as they would be held in conformity with the proclamation, which signified the university's acceptance of the new government law.

The report calmed and soothed the government: What had occurred was commonplace in any country. In fact, what had taken place in Ethiopia was insignificant compared to the turmoil experienced in many other nations. The report expressed understanding of the government's position, that it was aware universities in other developing countries often served as the focal point for movements seeking broader changes than the governments of those countries were prepared to accept. It was acknowledged that a government-sponsored university represented a sizable investment and was of vital concern to its national government. Naturally, the government wanted the university administration to exercise "security control over that particularly explosive element of any developing country's population, the young intelligentsia."

The committee found this inherently conflict-ridden position of the university "untenable." Yet it admitted that neither student demands nor government

policies were likely to change, and the dilemma had to be accepted as a part of the university's existence. The report concluded that the university could not afford to give up either its claim for independence from the government or its dependence on it. Equally, if it had pride in its calling, it had to condone the fight for academic freedom and dissent. The report recommended creation of a "crisis committee" in the university to open communication channels with the police and suggested a "dialogue" between students and government to establish legal channels of protest. Aside from this kind of wishful thinking, the report clearly assessed the parental role of the university, to impose and enforce limits on "adolescent rebellion" in order to obtain tolerance and understanding from the government, which in other and more blunt terms meant that the university accepted self-imposed censorship.

In explaining and presenting the student position, the report omitted any comment on the prevailing political concerns of the student body. Their view was dismissed in very general terms as that of an "adolescent child" who realizes that his "parents are not the ideal persons he had once imagined them to be." Only with experience can the individual be expected to achieve the "emotional maturity" to deal with an "imperfect world."¹ The report's lesson to the government in adolescent psychology also pointed out that "misconduct" and "rebellion" were normal aspects of growing up.

This description grossly underestimated the maturity of the students and resembled the European colonial view that the African is a child. It is significant to stress that most Ethiopian university students were grown men and women. Because of circumstances in their country, many had a late start. A survey of freshmen in 1969 indicated that almost half were entering at age 19-20 and another half at more than 21-22 years old; almost 35 percent were age 23.²¹ The average age of graduates from the School of Law in 1967 was 30.6 years.²² Referring to such students as "adolescents" could serve as a convenient pretext for university officials and faculty not to take their views seriously.

Notes

1. Proclamation to govern the Holding of Peaceful Public Demonstrations, No. 343 of 1967, *Negarit Gazette*, 11.3.1967
2. *Struggle* 4.4.1967, Press Release by the NUEUS on the Proclamation on Demonstrations. An Assessment, undated, according to the text issued one week before April 11, 1967.
3. Revised Constitution of Ethiopia, Article 45 *Negarit Gazette*, 4.11.1955
4. Press Release by the NUEUS, p. 4.
5. *Struggle* 4.4.1967, 2.
6. Press Release by the NUEUS
7. AZ Minn 3, 1959 (LIA 1967); also Press Release by the NUEUS, p. 3
8. Revised Constitution, Article 65
9. Press Release by the NUFUS, p. 3.

10. Every proposal for legislation had to be approved by both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, which consisted of members directly appointed by the emperor. He had the power of final decision (Revised Constitution, Articles 78, 88, and 101). Parliamentary debates were rarely reported in the newspapers in Addis Ababa. They were, however in most cases open to the public, and people interested in what was going on would also be informed through the oral "rumor press" in the capital.
 11. Press Release by the NUEUS, p. 4.
 12. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 3 After the April 1967 demonstration, the Student Affairs Committee of HSIU's Faculty Council appointed a fact-finding committee to investigate all events connected to the demonstration. My description draws heavily upon this report as well as upon the four issues of *University Reporter* from April 11- April 17. The report is classified in the library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies as: Awad Abdullah and Strauss, Peter: "Final Report of the Fact Finding Committee." It was approved by the Student Affairs Committee March 26, 1968, henceforth referred to as Awad-Strauss Report
 13. UR 11.4.1967 2. The Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 4 estimated the number of students to be between 1,500 and 1,700.
 14. UR 11.4.1967 2.
 15. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 4, 5
 16. Ibid., pp. 5, 6.
 17. UR 11.4.1967 2.
 18. AZ Mizan 3, 1959 (11.4.1967).
 19. UR 11.4.1967 2; Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 4. The Awad-Strauss Report considered that police plain clothesmen were among the students inside the campus, but not, as was so occasionally heard charge, that they started the stone throwing (Awad-Strauss Report, p. 7). The *University Reporter* wrote that in a faculty meeting it was pointed out the students maintained they had not started the stone throwing (UR 13.4.1967 1).
 20. UR 11.4.1967 2; Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 7, 18, 7
 21. BO 8.5.1967 9
 22. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 7; UR 13.4.1967: 1
 23. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 10, 11, 19
 24. BO 8.5.1967: 9.
 25. Ibid.
 26. UR 12.4.1967 2
 27. Ibid., Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 20.
 28. BO 8.5.1967 10.
- It might be noted that in traditional Ethiopia political criminals and/or those seeking favor often shouldered stones as a sign of humility and submission.
29. B & S 25.11.1967: 6-7, "A Seven-Day Detention at Sebeta" by Getachew Berhe.
 30. Curia Amara 1964: 50, 51
 31. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 1, 9.
 32. UR 12.4.1967: 1, 13.4.1967: 1, 11.4.1967
 33. UR 12.4.1967
 34. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 10.
 35. UR 13.4.1967
 36. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 11, 12.
 37. UR 13.4.1967: 2; Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 12
 38. UR 14.4.1967: 1
 39. UR 17.4.1967: 1.

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40. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 2.
41. UR 14.4.1967
42. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 21, 12
43. Struggle 31.10.1967: 12.
44. UR 17.4.1967: 2
45. UR 19.4.1967
46. UR 14.4.1967
47. UR 17.4.1967
48. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 16.
49. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 11.
50. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 8; SAC Minutes, Special Meeting, April 11, 1967.
51. The ten points were worked into the description of the events in the *University Reporter* and the *Awad-Strauss Report*, which are the sources for my description.
52. UR 1.4.1967; SAC Minutes, April 11, 1967
53. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 8, 12.
54. Joint Press Release by NUEUS and USUAA, undated, April 1967.
55. UR 11.4.1967, 12.4.1967.
56. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 23; Minutes, Special Meeting of SAC, 11.4.1967
57. Joint Press Release by NUEUS and USUAA.
58. UR 11.4.1967.
59. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 13.
60. UR 19.4.1967.
61. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 13, 14.
62. UR 19.4.1967, 25.4.1967.
63. Joint Press Release by NUEUS and USUAA
64. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 17
65. EH 14.4.1967
66. AZ Mails 6, 1959 (14.4.1967).
67. SAC Minutes, 11.3.1967 Joint Press Release by NUEUS and USUAA
68. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 20
69. EH 15.4.1967
70. AZ Mails 1, 1959 (11.4.1967).
71. AZ Mails 6, 1959 (14.4.1967).
72. EH 16.4.1967
73. Ibid.
74. EH 14.4.1967; AZ Mails 6, 1959 (14.4.1967).
75. Struggle 31.10.1967: 12.
76. Ibid., Joint Press Release by NUEUS and USUAA.
77. Editorial, CO 25.4.1967.
78. EH 15.4.1967.
79. Struggle 31.12.1967: 12, UR 9.5.1967: 2.
80. Awad-Strauss Report 1968: 26, 28, 23, 26, 22, 24, 25
81. Purnawar, "Report on a Research," 1970.
82. B & S June 1967: 35, from biographies of 24 L.L.B. graduates in 1967.

4:3 Student Attitudes Toward the United States

As background, a few facts are needed about U.S. involvement in Ethiopian affairs. During 1968-1969 a little less than 60 percent of the 452 HSIU staff members were expatriates representing more than 13 nationalities, 83 were from the United States.¹ U.S. citizens were found among the chief administrative officers as well as the academic deans. The financial dependence of HSIU on the United States has been indicated; it seems reasonable to state if provided the main source of assistance.² On the Sidist Kilo campus U.S. funds and staff were heavily involved in the College of Business Administration. The Ford Foundation was the principal patron of the Faculty of Law,³ and since 1963 the foundation had provided full or partial salaries for its administration and teaching staff. During 1967-1968 USAID loaned the university ES2,500,000 for the architectural planning of needed facilities and for the purchase of books and equipment.⁴

The Ethiopian government was equally dependent on the United States. There were as many as 6,000 Americans in Ethiopia at the end of the 1960s.⁵ Whether in terms of importation of goods, investment, loans, advisers to the government, or military aid, the United States was the dominant force.⁶ Ethiopian dependence on the United States in coffee exports is a key example. The total value of exports in 1968 approached ES200 million, approximately 75 percent of which was the export value of coffee,⁷ and nearly 70 percent of the coffee exported went to U.S. markets. Ethiopia was precariously dependent on one crop and on one country for sales.

The economic grip of the United States on Ethiopia is best demonstrated by military aid, which leaves no doubt as to who bolstered the Haile Selassie regime and enabled it to suppress rebellious regions as well as political opposition. In

1953 the United States and Ethiopia signed a mutual defense assistance agreement, which laid the basis for the modernization of the Ethiopian army and the development of an air force. A Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) was attached to the Ethiopian Ministry of Defense. During the first ten years of the agreement, the United States provided Ethiopia with almost U.S. \$74 million in military assistance, about half the U.S. military aid program in Africa.⁸ The assistance must be seen in the context of the U.S. cold war strategy, in particular the base at Kagaew, near Asmara considered critical to U.S. telecommunications between Europe and the Far East and because of its proximity to the Red Sea and the Middle East. Moreover, being interested in maintaining stability in Ethiopia and the rest of Africa, the United States developed an even stronger interest in Addis Ababa after the city became the seat of the Organization of African Unity in 1963.

An attitudinal questionnaire was given to 700 students by a U.S. lecturer at UCBA in 1960-1961. Respondents placed the United States as the preferred great power, followed by the Soviet Union and Great Britain.⁹ Sometime in 1967 university students in 11 African countries, including Ethiopia, were asked to select the three countries they liked most from a list of twenty-six; the United States ranked as the first or second choice in every country. Of 170 students in Ethiopia, 56 percent ranked the United States first, Great Britain and Sweden were second and third; the Soviet Union ranked seventh, with only 15 percent of the students including it among their preferred countries.¹⁰ The United States was reportedly admired for maintaining individual freedom, democracy, and a high standard of living, as well as for its aid to other nations. There seems no reason to doubt that the average Ethiopian student in the first three-quarters of the 1960s had a favorable attitude toward the United States. A comparable study from the end of the 1940s would be of considerable interest, but none was conducted.

Western residents of Addis Ababa frequently voiced worries about the effect of Soviet Union propaganda upon the students through the Soviet reading room and information center in the city.¹¹ Most probably, the USA, with its well-equipped library in the students' language of instruction was much more popular. In fact U.S. influence on Ethiopian students by far outweighed that of the Soviet Union.

Begun in 1963 almost every secondary school in the empire, and even the university, had Peace Corps teachers. Young and full of enthusiasm, they wanted to do a good job during their two years in Ethiopia. On the one hand, their energetic and conscientious attitude toward teaching and their personal concern for students after school hours contrasted sharply with the Indian teachers' more traditional and indifferent attitude.¹² On the other hand, the PCVs' life-style, economic independence, and almost aggressive self-confidence worked against them to some degree. Informality in behavior and especially in

great was perceived as an insult by many Ethiopians. It was interesting to notice a kind of love-hate attitude develop among students toward their young American teachers.¹³

There is no doubt that the "western," especially American, influence on Ethiopian students was far greater than the "eastern," including the Soviet Union. The American influence through the film industry is too obvious to describe, but another and perhaps the most important was through the services offered by UCAA and HSIJ, determined by teachers, increasingly Americans. Moreover, most Ethiopian university teachers and administrators were educated in the United States. An insignificant number of teachers at HSU came from eastern countries, and most were bitterly anti-Soviet Polish refugees.¹⁴ The Soviet Union made little effort to reach the Ethiopian students, a reflection of its general disinterest in Africa in the 1950s and 1960s whereas the United States did.

In 1957 Vice-President Nixon visited UCAA and addressed what he called the "future leadership" of the nation.¹⁵ The U.S. ambassador reportedly came at least twice before 1964 to watch football matches at the university, and Ambassador Edward Korry, invited by the NIFIS, was a guest speaker in Rus Makonnen Hall in 1964, 1965, and 1966.¹⁶ In 1967 U.S. Undersecretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach spoke to the students, and a dinner party for student representatives of the College of Business is reported to have been held at the home of a secretary at the U.S. embassy.¹⁷ Why the Soviet ambassador never came to visit or address the students was often raised in *News and Views*.¹⁸ The paper also stressed the lack of press releases on international questions from representatives of the eastern countries, when these were simply provided by the western embassies.¹⁹ In 1961, when members of the paper's editorial board went to the Soviet embassy to request comment on the emperor's message concerning the Soviet Union's nuclear testing, the response was that the ambassador was out of town.²⁰

Despite favorable attitudes toward the United States, the active few who were also makers of opinion began questioning U.S. virtues, although their opinions were relatively benign until the Vietnam War had raged for some time. In the early 1960s, a U.S. faculty member commented on the antipathy of undergraduates toward the United States "based on ignorance and a feeling of inferiority as citizens of an underdeveloped country."²¹ The initial resentment seems to have been connected with U.S. racial discrimination. The issue of *News and Views* expressing genuine grief at the death of President Kennedy, the "Great Emancipator" who had worked so long for "eradication of racial discrimination," also reflected a deep distrust of a nation where such a crime can happen.²² The tragedy was partly seen as a punishment for the treatment of American Negroes. Student poet Abeba Work's ode to Kennedy, "O Lincoln! O Kennedy! O America!" is worth quoting:

Wake up to see your America Abolition Lincoln
What a backwardly moving nation it has become.

Afro America - I was there, pity + pitiable.
What a civilization! What progress!

Africa, for Germany a sponge and at that, America.
It laughs.
As much and every enhanced in this date.

The students were not just exposed to US government propaganda. Apart from the hundreds of PCVs, many of whom were highly critical of U.S. society and foreign policy, teaching entities such as Malcolm X and Black militants from the civil rights movement spoke to packed audiences of university students.²³ Of Malcolm X it is reported "The extremely powerful voice, his excellent choice of words, but above all the conviction and enthusiasm with which he spoke kept all in the meeting literally spell-bound."²⁴ The fact that he met Ethiopian students just a few months before he died certainly enhanced the impression he had made.²⁵

The intervention of Belgium and the United States in the Congo in 1964 provoked student discussion as to whether this was imperialist interference or justified action under the prevailing circumstances.²⁶ Emotional letters of condemnation were sent from the student council to President Johnson and the Belgian Foreign Minister.²⁷ From then on the United States was put in the imperialist category. Its interests in Africa were seriously questioned, and African leaders were seen as accomplices of the imperialists, their "hangers."²⁸

Ambassador Kartik invited to speak on US policy in Africa in connection with the Congo crisis, was afterward criticized for going "tutto de sù" of U.S. aid to Ethiopia to order to quell student criticism.²⁹ When students questioned the motives behind U.S. aid to Ethiopia, American visitors unconvincingly stressed that the military aid was "very modern," that the United States brought in Ethiopia but did not tell, and that J.S. Deaings in Africa were "aid in the true meaning" of the word.³⁰ The U.S. ambassador's speech in March 1966 was met with a shower of questions on aid, the Kagure bank, whether the Peace Corps Program would harm U.S.-Ethiopian relations, why the United States supported corrupt regimes, and U.S. policy in Vietnam.³¹

By spring 1966 the student spokesman's stand on the Vietnam issue was clear and it received great publicity when it was announced in a *Newspaper and Yearbook* special issue on Mass Comm Day as well as in the respective issue of *Acme Perspective*.³² The papers published a NEUS letter to the Vietnamese National Union of Students in Hanoi, declaring Ethiopian student support to their "honest struggle against U.S. Imperialist aggression," and another to the U.S. ambassador, expressing the "unapprovial stand" of the Ethiopian university students against the bombing of North Vietnam and demanding a stop to the

discontentment on the "injustice and misery" of the Vietnamese people. Special evenings dedicated to the Vietnam issue were held from 1966 on.¹³ In 1967 U.S. Undersecretary of State Kattenbach, on his way to the scheduled speech at Rus Makonnen Hall, was met with a display of placards "Welcome to our Vietnam Friends. Long Live the heroic Vietnamese People. Stop the War against Humanity. Down with U.S. Imperialism." There was a picture display of North Vietnamese citizens suffering the consequences of the war.¹⁴ After his speech, Kattenbach was questioned about Vietnam, and the United States was directly accused of being the foremost neocolonialist power. Hundreds attended the Vietnam Evening sponsored by NUEUS after Kattenbach's speech to turn to criticism of U.S. policy. What a few students argued that the intervention was legitimate, they were advised and asked to sit down.¹⁵ The NUFFS Sixth Congress resolutions of March 1967 commented extensively on U.S. imperialism in various parts of the world as well as on the Vietnam War.¹⁶

Ethiopian student views about U.S. foreign policy must be seen in the light of worldwide student opposition to what was perceived as U.S. imperialistic and aggressive policy in the underdeveloped world. Equally it must be seen in terms of Ethiopian student reactions at the deep and intense antagonism of the United States on Ethiopian soil. They denounced the "growing United States influence in the Ethiopian state machinery" and its "infiltration" in Ethiopia.¹⁷ They strongly protested against the U.S. ban on arms and increasingly condemned the Peace Corps Program as designed to "fix into the international schema of domination of the underdeveloped countries" by U.S. imperialism. The Sixth Congress resolution urged the Ethiopian government to terminate the Peace Corps "offensive" and the American Field Service Program on the grounds that they furthered the "cultural exploitation of the underdeveloped countries" and "contaminated" the youth of Ethiopia by "systematically transplanting alien values and tendencies" into the minds of the young generation. The popular consequence of this attitude was the slogan "Yankees Go Home" regularly displayed on demonstration placards.¹⁸ The anti-Americanism thus reflected the yearning of student activists to have their own culture respected and their refusal to submit to domination everything brought by the strong, wealthy and well-fed Americans. Great protests were led by the young educated, especially at a stage of economic development in which democracy was the most important status symbol, to conform with the American pop style. Those who had the means and/or inclination to succumb were popularly referred to as "Jelly Jacks," irresponsibile persons who did not show any interest for national cause.

Open student opposition to the United States to a considerable extent expressed indirect concern of the Ethiopian government which the students were not in a position to speak openly. The United States was seen as an accomplice of the then and subsequent supporters of a government which retarded the economic and political development of Ethiopia. Never properly

informed on any national issue, the students were suspicious. The Vietnam War was a genuine concern because it was felt a similar situation could develop in Ethiopia if the United States felt its interests to be at stake. Rumors of U.S. troops being sent to Ethiopia were persistent, as were reports that additional U.S. bases were to be built in southern Ethiopia.³⁹

On January 6, 1968, U.S. Vice-President Hubert Humphrey was prevented from speaking to the students. Awaiting his arrival a demonstration of 150 students burned an effigy of President Johnson and set fire to a U.S. flag and a U.S. dollar bill. They displayed placards expressing contempt for the United States, condemning its foreign policy and demanding withdrawal from Vietnam.⁴⁰ In the following years these negative views became an integral part of general student thinking.

Notes

1. Summerskill 1970 117, 118, 7
2. See chapter 1, 2.
3. Summerskill 1970: 138.
4. USAID—United States Agency for International Development; *Ibid.*, p. 141.
5. *Hea* 1970: 17
6. Carlson and others 1970: 15, 86.
7. Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Abstract* 1970: 98, 109.
8. *Hea* 1970: 199, 202
9. Levine 1965: 139.
10. Kripberg and Zavalboni 1969: 200, 201; Levine 1965: 108
11. This refers especially to my stay in Ethiopia, 1963-1966.
12. The government initially staffed the high schools primarily with Indian contract teachers. In 1963-1964 there were 1,055 teachers in secondary schools, 400 of them Ethiopians, approximately 10 of whom had obtained something like a B.A. degree. PCVs accounted for slightly more than half the 655 foreign teachers. By 1966 there were 500 PCVs in Ethiopian secondary schools (Glinkberg and Smith 1967: 63, 64, 65).
13. Personal observation, Ras Dugay Secondary School, Asella.
14. Summerskill 1970: 118
15. Editorial, *OC Colz* 16.3.1957
16. *N & V* 29.11.1963, 14.12.1964: 24, 28.3.1966 3, 25.4.1966 1)
17. *B-B* 24.4.1964: 8.
18. *N & V* 29.11.1963, 14.12.1964: 26, 28.3.1966: 7
19. *N & V* 1.3.1965: 1.
20. Editorial, *N & V* 26.10.1961.
21. Kehoe, "Higher Education in Ethiopia," 1962: 478.
22. Editorial, *N & V* 29.11.1963
23. *N & V* 27.10.1964: 2, *B-B* 23.2.1965: 2.
24. *N & V* 27.10.1964: 2
25. *B-B* 23.2.1965: 9.
26. *N & V* 4.12.1964: 14-15, and editorial.
27. *N & V* 4.12.1964: 16.
28. Also *AP* 18.12.1964: 8; *CR* 30.5.1967: 1, 2

29. *N&V* 14.12.1964:24.
30. *N&V* 28.3.1966 3
31. Ibid., *AP* 14.5.1966.3.
32. *N&V* 30.4.1966 4.
33. *AP* 14.5.1966:3.
34. *UR* 30.5.1967:1, 2.
35. In 1967 there were still voices prepared to defend U.S. policy in Vietnam, and some students opposed the strong NUFUS emphasis on Vietnam on the ground that it made students turn their interest away from local problems. "Vietnam," distributed to the student body by NUFUS, undated autumn 1967.
36. Resolutions of the 6th Congress of NUFUS, March 1967 29
37. Ibid., pp. 10, 18; *UR* 11.1.1968.
38. *UR* 11.1.1968, *UR* 14.3.1968.
39. *UR* 28.3.1966 3; *Struggle* 4.12.1968 13.
40. *UR* 11.1.1968.

4:4 "We Are Africans, and Remain So"

When the scholarship students arrived in Ethiopia at the end of the 1950s,¹ they found to their disappointment there was little student identification with the rest of the continent.² The Ethiopian did not feel he was an African. There was pride and complacency in the feeling of Ethiopian uniqueness born of its ancient origins and independence and a stubborn belief that Ethiopia was superior to other African countries, both in indigenous culture and technical development. A former scholarship student made this comment: "They looked down upon the Negro in us, and they were surprised to find that we were intelligent."³ Ingrained traditional prejudices which considered the Negro peoples racially and culturally inferior strained the relationship between Ethiopian and scholarship students even if the view was seldom openly expressed.⁴ The point is reflected in a scholarship student's comment in the *UCLA Newsletter* that an Ethiopian student had called a group of scholarship students "African", a phrase carrying a conception that he or you...are not Africans. This is not only incorrect but also embarrassing, insulting and provoking.⁴

The indifference to Africa must be understood in the context of the education offered in schools and university, the curriculum neglected Africa and centered around the heritage and achievements of western civilization. Also historically Ethiopia had been isolated from much of Africa and was culturally prejudiced against Negroid peoples. Margery Perham writes of the door "so long bolted against almost the whole of the rest of the continent." Ethiopia showed little or no interest in the African plight under colonialism. In the late 1950s, however, there was a sudden and almost dramatic change in the country's relationship with the continent. Haile Selassie had long been admired by

prominent nationalist leaders and Ethiopia's success against Italian aggression made it the symbol of Africa's struggle for independence. Ethiopia duly played on these sentiments and eventually emerged as a leader and important spokesman for Africa in the United Nations.

In 1958 Ethiopia attended the first Conference of Independent African States at Accra, where Haile Selassie made available the 200 scholarships for African students. The same year Addis Ababa was chosen as the site for the UN Economic Commission for Africa, enhancing the importance of the capital. Ethiopia signed itself with the African independence movement, strongly condemned South African apartheid, and supported the cause of the Algerian nationalists. Haile Selassie received leaders of independence movements as guests and gave aid to political refugees.

One of the many effects of Ghana's independence in March 1957 was to give pan-Africans a base at last on the continent, a base which Ethiopia and Liberia, the only independent states left after the scramble for Africa, had failed to provide. At the Lagos conference in January 1962, Haile Selassie committed Ethiopia to the principle of political unity among African states. At the same time he stressed that Ethiopia was not a member of any one of the groupings emerging among the African states; it belonged to only one, the African group. The emperor took the initiative and invited the heads of state of all independent African countries to Addis Ababa in May 1963, for a conference on African unity. It proved a success, and Addis Ababa was chosen as the headquarters of the newly formed Organization of African Unity. Emerging Africa wanted the qualities Ethiopia seemed to possess: the stability of the regime, the recognition and respect commanded by the emperor in the world, the dignified setting for the conduct of African affairs.³

Students were increasingly confronted by other Africans: fellow students, diplomats, prominent guests of the government and university, and delegates to the increasing number of conferences held in the capital.⁴ Donald Levine, a former UCAA lecturer, noted that Ethiopian students around 1960 were beginning to reject traditional Ethiopian attitudes toward Negro Africa. Klinberg and Zavajosi, using data from six African countries, found that African as an identity attribute was comparatively rarely mentioned by Ethiopian student respondents, but the few who considered themselves Africans attached great importance to this; to them it was an active cause.⁵ Contributions to student papers seem to support this finding.⁶

Several issues fuelled an increased identification with the African continent. The French nuclear tests in 1960 and 1961 in the Sahara prompted strong student reaction in Africa and elsewhere. The Coordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students raised the issue. Ethiopian students were indignant as Africans that the Sahara was chosen for the site. The Ethiopian protest letter to General de Gaulle accused France of treating Africans as guinea pigs.⁷

"They have made a distinction between rational beings and irrational beings. Was God particularly referring to the white man when he shaped man in his own image and blessed him?"¹³

The apartheid policy of the South African government also aroused interest and opposition. A great speaker in the university in May 1961 reportedly speaking for three hours, "was continuously pestered with questions and comments condemning the South African apartheid policy."¹⁴ Another talk on South Africa the following year was considered "worth a thousand student debates."¹⁵ In the optimistic early years of the Organization of African Unity an article on apartheid stated "The whites of South Africa forget that beyond the border lies a huge black continent."¹⁶ Opposition to and condemnation of apartheid as well as South Africa's policy toward South West Africa became a matter of course,¹⁷ as did student condemnation of Portugal's colonial rule in Angola and Mozambique.¹⁸ The question of white minority rule in Rhodesia excited the students most because the issue appeared susceptible to influence by outside forces, whereas the situation in South Africa and the Portuguese colonies seemed difficult to resolve.

There was a panel discussion on the significance of the Conference of African Heads of State, which met in Addis Ababa in May 1963 and formed the Organization of African Unity.¹⁹ "The Sunnis" dominated Addis Ababa newspapers, and it contributed to giving students a sense of enthusiastic involvement and pride in the history of modern Africa. The "entire world" had been shown that the "slumbering giant was no more. Henceforth, Africans will determine upon their own problems and will have the inalienable right to make their own mistakes and define their own destinies."²⁰ The sense of enthusiasm and identification prevailed in the NUE's celebration of Kenyan independence a few months after the conference. George Araya, the UK union president proudly commented that the freedom fighters, termed "rebels, terrorists and criminals" by the colonial press and radio, are the true sons of the young and angry continent.²¹

Ethiopian student representatives attended a pan-African student conference in Kampala in 1957 and the East-West Central African Study Seminar in Sierra Leone in 1959.²² It is difficult to assess whether these contacts contributed to the development of a pan-African ideology. It seemed to be of greater importance at the time to send delegates who could make the most favorable impression rather than bring back inspiration.²³ Yet even before the Seminar in '59, it seems that pan-Africanism was acceptable to Ethiopian students. NUE's vice-president Muhi Deebash wrote home from an international student working camp in Chile in 1961: "As far as my views on ideologies, Pan-Africanism has been my answer, and my Chilian friends answer to those who wanted to know our respective ideologies."²⁴ At the time of the Conference of Independent African States in 1963 unity was seen as a lofty goal which the African

Intelligentsia should promote.²³ In 1963 a fierce assertion of identification with the pan-African cause appeared in the article "Our God is Black" by Auguste Hayes, who lamented that Africans for so long had taken white supremacy and exploitation for granted. The salvation was pan-Africanism. "'If the 'Black Angels' want to leave the 'White Devil' no place to stand on, it is by Unity.'²⁴

By the time of the NLEUS Sixth Congress in March 1967, commitment to the idea of "total" unity in Africa was general. The pan-African student conferences which began in 1957 had disintegrated by the 1960s, presumably because of cleavages and factions within the movement.²⁵ In July 1966 representatives from nineteen African student unions convened in Moscow. This meeting mandated NLEUS to play host to a pan-African student conference,²⁶ but none was held in Addis Ababa, partly due to the precarious position of Ethiopian student unionism and the setback for pan-Africanism caused by the fall of Nkrumah in February 1966.

The goal of pan-Africanism was to liberate the continent from colonialism and white minority rule, to resist pressure put on African countries to adopt foreign ideologies, and to resist new and subtle forms of intervention aiming at economic domination and neo-colonialism.²⁷ One article in December 1960, reprinted in a *New and Vieux Monde* reviewing the best contributions to the paper in 1960-1961, stressed the need for African thinkers who could provide the continent with its ideology of its own.²⁸ "Can Africa take the good principles both from the east and west, and build up a doctrine better than that of others?"

Two groups, the International Student Council (ISC, based in Leiden, The Netherlands) and the International Union of Students (IUS, in Prague), of a western and eastern ideological bent, respectively, tried to reach and influence the Ethiopian students, especially up to the mid-1960s.²⁹ The NLEUS answer to what might appear a dilemma was to be a member of both, which indicates an identification with the nonalignment policy of radical African states.³⁰ The USLA congress in January 1967 declared its international stand to be the "principle of positive non-alignments." The NLEUS resolutions of March 1967 supported pan-Africanism.³¹

The thinking of Kwame Nkrumah, presented in books like *Africa Must Unite* (1963) and *Neo-colonialism. The Last Stage of Imperialism* (1965), influenced Ethiopian students even if their works were rarely cited in their publications. At the end of 1964 Gebre Gebre Wold attacked the new tendencies of colonialism to enter "through the back door, camouflaged as economic aid," adapted to the changing conditions of the developing nations. "The days are far when colonialism was so naked to be noticeable to an average fool."³² It became common to accept that some independent African countries had been "practically neutralized," flying "colonial" flags.³³ "Early colonizers are trying

hard to come back and give a 'coup de grace' to our already exploited continent."³³ In addition to the former colonial powers, a new type of "masqueraded colonization," that is, the United States, were trying to dominate Africa in an "indirect way." The situation in Rhodesia—the fact that it was possible for Ian Smith to declare unilateral independence based on white minority rule—was connected to the strength of neocolonialism in Africa, the economic and political dependence of African states prevented them from taking a united stand on the issue of "our Zimbabwe brother."³⁴

One influential student activist, Berhane Meskel Redda, while on his national service year, wrote a letter to *Struggle* addressed to the historian Edward Gibbon. Berhane attacked in indirect terms the neocolonial influence of the United States in Ethiopia. "Any conscious youth of our village inevitably becomes anti-imperialist because he sees with his own eyes how they control the political, military and economic life of our village."³⁵ The letter also criticized the collaboration between foreign elements at HSIU and the Ethiopian government in attempting to diminish the student force for politics by encouraging fatalism within the university. Berhane was referring to the Pentecostal movement, which was abhorred by the political activists because they felt that potentially active students were diverted from thinking about the contemporary problems of Ethiopia.

You see, Mr. Gibbon, the most vacuous, the most militant and the strongest anti-imperialist elements of our society are the school children. This is why even the school administration collaborates with those mercenaries in killing the students to shatter the school administration, as you know, has a connection with the clique of chiefs in our village. Hence it does not want the students to be genuinely patriotic and challenge the role of the chiefs. That is how foreign imperialism collaborate with local exploiters, Mr. Gibbon.

The NUEUS Sixth Congress resolution denounced those African heads of state who claimed to be exponents of African freedom and independence but "who in reality play the role of neo-colonial agents."³⁶ That Ethiopia was included in this criticism is not a far-fetched conjecture.

The cluster of ideas connected to concepts such as "negritude" and "African personality," ideological weapons to create and regenerate a specific African culture, were hardly touched upon in the student paper.³⁷ This may reflect the fact that Ethiopian students possessed an intuitive pride in their own history and cultural heritage which had not been rendered inferior by a prolonged European colonial presence. Indeed, they wanted this heritage to be truly represented. The Ethiopian display at the first World Art Festival in Dakar in 1966 was severely criticized in *News and Views* for not being representative of genuine Ethiopian culture but rather exhibiting the influence of the white man's civilization in Ethiopia art.³⁸ Criticism was particularly directed at Aferwork

Tekle, a leading artist,

who always represents Ethiopia with his aesthetic paintings who has neglected the bulk of the Ethiopian population in his "artistic works" who is not concerned about poverty. This is the artist who prefers to draw an "Ethiopian" lady with a Cleopatrian face dressed in an aesthetic costume to an Ethiopian lady carrying a jug of water.

According to the critic Ethiopia should have been represented by the traditional paintings of the churches and monasteries and by "unartificialized" folk dances from all parts of the country "particularly from Gondar."³⁹ In spring 1971 there was an exhibition of paintings by a law student, Tekle Higus. The guest book had many student comments asking for the Ethiopian "truth" and "reality" criticizing the romantic selection of motifs.

Specific union actions related to African affairs centered around Rhodesia. Following Ian Smith's unilateral declaration of independence on November 11, 1965, the students in Addis Ababa sent a message to the emperor expressing support for the Ethiopian government: a firm stand that force, if necessary, had to be used by African states to change the situation in Rhodesia.⁴⁰ College of Agriculture students demonstrated on campus the day after Smith's declaration.⁴¹ The issue was highlighted by an emergency session of OAU foreign ministers in Addis Ababa early in December.⁴² On that occasion two student meetings were called, and although more than 200 persons, or one-quarter of the student body, attended there were not enough to form a quorum capable of having a declaration. Concerned students criticized the executive council of the MUES for its lack of enthusiasm and the student body for scant participation. "We should be ashamed to call ourselves University students. What a pity that most of us failed to realize that what happened in Rhodesia is our responsibility."⁴³ The emergency session of the OAU decided that all member states were to break diplomatic relations with Great Britain should it fail to crush the Smith rebellion by December 15.⁴⁴ Only nine of 36 African states did so, and Ethiopia was not among them. This fact brought about meetings between MUES and the locum unions and it was resolved that the respective presidents should seek an explanation from the prime minister as to why Ethiopia had not broken relations.⁴⁵

In March 1968 about 2,700 students marched to the Organization of African Unity headquarters and then to the British embassy demanding that the OAU and the British government use force to topple the Smith regime.⁴⁶ The president of USLAA delivered a speech to the OAU secretary in which he demanded action by the OAU to "demolish Ian Smith." This demonstration may be seen as a breakthrough in Ethiopian student identification with the continent never before had so many been active for an African cause. The "Press Release" distributed by MUES on the occasion raised the issue of the Zimbabwean nationalist fighters and their treatment under the Smith regime. "Zimbabwe national-

to have been hanged,残忍ly executed, and many more are miserably languishing in the racist prisons.⁴⁷ The leaflet expressed distrust and disillusionment in the "paper work and empty resolutions" of the JIN as well as the OAU. It supported those within Rhodesia who had taken up arms against the regime and proclaimed armed struggle, backed by other African states, as the only way to obtain independence for Zimbabwe.

When a massive police presence refused the students entry to the British embassy to hand in their protest note and told them to pass it through the gate, stones were thrown from the rear. What began as an orderly demonstration with "well-behaved" students suddenly erupted into a battle with the police, which USUAA had not wanted. The president, outside the embassy, cautioned the students not to let their emotions get the better of them, and even as the battle started leaders tried to restrain their followers.⁴⁸ Evidently, it was extremely difficult for the union leadership to ensure that a peaceful undertaking would not quickly get out of control, either because of student emotions or, as was sometimes suspected, incitement by provocateurs working against the student movement. The massive police presence enhanced the possibility of violence.

The students had not been prevented from demonstrating, even though they had disregarded the procedures set forth in the demonstration proclamation and even though the police, adequately equipped with water carriers, tear gas, and batons, easily could have prevented it. It seems safe to presume this was an issue upon which the government could allow students to express themselves.

The students were responding to the executions of the Africans fighting the Smith regime. It also must be noted that elements of the student body, acutely conscious of Ethiopian realities, were ready to act on any issue or cause for the sake of political agitation itself. The fact as well as the students' negative attitude toward the United States and their manifest identification with their own continent were important elements in their third demonstration in spring 1963, the one against the fashion show.

Notes

1. The chapter title is from *N & V* 14.3 966.11, "Never or Never" by Seyoum Tefera. LC 45 .4 8 1971 LC 45 .1 10 1972, LC 44 .6 10 1973
2. Levine 1963 141 LC 76.10 1973
3. UCBA NL 27.3 1969
4. Perkins 1969 22b-21 Nov 1970 224-27 Thompson 1964 111, 126-27 141-73, 364
5. Kwame Nkrumah visited UCBA in 1961. Tom Mboya addressed students toward the end of 1961, as did Jomo Kenyatta in 1961. Julius Nyerere was enthusiastically received, and Kenneth Kaunda spoke at St. John's Kibar Campus in January 1965 (UCBA NL 30.3 1958; *N & V* 12.10 1961, 16..1 1961, 22.3 1962).
6. Levine 1963 141 Khadra and Zavalloni 1969 25-27
7. UCBA NL 19.3 1959, Editorial, *N & V* 27.5 1963, 27.12 1963 11
8. *N & V* 29.1 1963:4.

- 10 *N & V* 26.2 1960
- 11 Editorial, *N & V* 18.5 1961
- 12 *N & V* 12 1961.5
- 13 *N & V* 13.12 1961.9
- 14 Resolutions of the 6th Congress of NUEUS, March 1967 24, 25, 23
- 15 *N & V* 18.10.1963.2, 13.11.1963.2.
- 16 Editorial, *N & V* 27.5 1963, 24.5 1963.6-7
- 17 *N & V* 31.5 1961.9.
- 18 *N & V* 13.12.1961.2.
- 19 *UC Obit* 20.3.1957; *UCAN NL* 15.1 1959.
- 20 *UC Obit* 30.3.1957.
- 21 *CO* 17.3.1961.2.
- 22 *N & V* 21.5 1963.9; 18.10.1963.2, 13., 2.1963.1.
- 23 *N & V* 11.1.1963 16.
- 24 Thompson 1969:141-15.
- 25 Resolutions of the 6th Congress of NUEUS, March 1967 37.
- 26 *N & V* 18.10.1963.1, 13.12.1963.2 27.12.1963.3, 12.10.1961.8, 21.3.1966.3, 5.10.1961 Resolutions of the 6th Congress of NUEUS, March 1967 20.
- 27 *N & V* 9.12.1960.12.
- 28 *UCAN NL* 29.1.1959; *N & V* 7.10.1963.6; *CO* 1.11.1964.11, 28.4.1966.9, 25.12.1964.11; *CBTSM* February 1965 11. *B-B* 19.12.1963.5.
- 29 *B-B* 19.12.1963.5, *AP* 10.3.1965.7.
- 30 *UR* 31.1.1967.3, Resolutions of the 6th Congress of NUEUS, March 1967. On the concept of nonalignment, see Thompson 1969 187
- 31 *N & V* 21..2.1964.15 16, "Americanism" by Gobre G. Wold
- 32 *N & V* 21.3.1966, Oratorical Contest.
- 33 *N & V* 14.3 1966.11, "Now or Never" by Seyoum Tefera.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 *Struggle* 31.10.1967.6-7, "Letter to Mr. Edward Gibbon" by Berhane Mekal Redda - For "our village" and Ethiopia.
- 36 Resolutions of the 6th Congress of NUEUS, March 1967.12.
- 37 Thompson 1969:256, 268, 271.
- 38 *N & V* 30.4.1966.32. "Ethiopia Betrayed," signed "The Ethiopian." This was the special issue of *News and Virtue* for Campus Day.
- 39 Cambella is in the southwest; its population is negroid.
- 40 Editorial, The Rhodesian Issue, *B-B* 2.12.1965.
- 41 *CO* 10.12 1965.5.
- 42 Thompson 1969 218; *N & V* 27.11.1965.11, "Why such a reluctance?" by Amhara Kebede.
- 43 *N & V* 27.12.1965.12 "University and University" by Asgede Negos.
- 44 Thompson 1969:218.
- 45 *B-B* 17.1.1966
- 46 *UR* 14.3.1968.
- 47 Press Release by the Executive Committee of the National Union of Ethiopian University Students on the Occasion of the Fourth Year of the Mengistu Regime, undated, 12.3.1968.
- 48 "Riot at British Embassy, March 12 1968." eyewitness report by a staff member of the HSU Department of Sociology

4:5 The Demonstration Against the Fashion Show

In March 1968 the University Women's Club was given permission to use Rue Makonnen Hall to stage a fashion show, the proceeds of which would go to improve living conditions for university students.¹ The club was composed of staff members, wives of lecturers, secretaries, and female students of the university. The previous year such a fashion tea had taken place in the same hall.² Student opposition was based on their knowledge of the fashion tea program the previous year, and the *University Reporter*'s notice about the show helps explain the students' arguments against its repetition. Dresses from "Salon Exquisite" and "La Merveilleuse," including the latest styles from Rome and Paris, were shown in 1967. The customers of these shops, which sold nothing made in Ethiopia, were wealthy foreign residents and rich Ethiopians. University students and women staff acted as mannequins for the shops. In addition, "afternoon fashions," donated by a California manufacturer, were sold. Miniskirts dominated in 1967, at a time when these were uncommon in Ethiopia and detested in the community.³ Behind this affair one sees well-meaning wives of foreign faculty members and administrators of HSIU transplanted into the university the favored charity entertainment of the most affluent social circles in the world, yet so out of place in Ethiopia, where the most extreme human poverty was exposed for anyone to see.

The Basis for Student Opposition

In the context of student political convictions, the fashion show was yet another example of the neocolonialist or "commercial" colonialist plot against Ethiopia's economic, political, and social interests. In a "Message to Our Sisters"

in Smugir, a law student pointed out the women's ignorance of the implications of their participation in advertising western textiles and manufacturing industry, thus charging "our national dress" ⁴ Foreign concerns, not the national weaving industry, would benefit from the fashion show.⁵ A pamphlet issued before the 1968 show and also addressed to the university women students explained how neocolonialism could come

camouflaged under helping hands, as an expert advisory group and one under the jurisdiction of fashionable textile materials. Fashion show is nothing but one such agency for neo-colonization, an instrument for the creation of favorable market for luxury goods. The origin of such goods being the developed nation, the cash from the sale of such luxury goods does not at all contribute to the growth of our local revenue. Which thus means, such money goes to pay the cost of labour to the country of origin and result in the total increase of the Gross National Product in the same country.⁶

Another pamphlet stressed the need to oppose attempts "to make Ethiopia a dumping market for western fashion houses."⁷ It was pointed out that the proceeds of the 1967 show, £ 52,400, used to improve living conditions in the women's hostel, were insignificant compared to the effective advertisement achieved for the benefit of neocolonialist forces.⁸ Many factors contributed to the student impression that these forces actually had a great interest in the success of the fashion show. It was evident that the imports came from U.S. and European nations. The administration with an American vice-president, largely ignored student arguments against using university premises despite the fact that this position, if not all its arguments, was shared by a good number of Ethiopian staff members.

To students the *modelisti* came to represent the striking and tangible manifestation of what was regarded as the degrading western encroachment on African identity, culture, and values. Deeply affecting the sentiments of traditional society as to the chastity of its young women, the *modelisti* was uniquely fitted to express this encroachment.⁹ "During the colonial era, Africa lost its identity and its 'self image' to the hydra-like European values that inundated the continent" were the opening words of one pamphlet against the 1968 show. It stated that under the leadership of Africa's youth, a total "war against neo-cultural colonization" was waged, and that the "quest for the lost African values under the dominion of Europeanism" was behind the "Ban the Mini" crisis throughout the continent. The idea of a fashion show was stated to be "un-Ethiopian" and "un-African," a "social evil ... an option that has contaminated Europe ... a good pasture in a wretched world."

The use of the Makonnen Hall raised the crucial issue of the role of HSTU in Ethiopia. "How can a hall in our University, where our national culture is believed to be preserved and developed be used for girls walking along showing western rags ... Although it is not the first time for me to doubt that this univer-

sity is ours, I doubt it more than ever now," were the comments of Weldeyes Makonnen.¹⁰ Students regarded the university's stand on the fashion show and its decisions concerning the student press and unions as revealing that the "highest educational institution of the nation [was] completely divorced from the society in which we live. These same opportunists of the lowest type want to mass-produce 'loyal', 'model' students oblivious of the injustices and suffering around them... The student organizations and their student members have a right to participate in the life and programs of the society."¹¹ President Kassa criticized the students for "unscrupulously posing as guardians of Ethiopian culture while they dressed in western clothes and some even smoked western cigarettes."¹²

The University Women's Club considered student opposition and argumentation sincere and valid enough to demand a revision of the program. The announcement of the 1968 fashion show in the *University Reporter* was strikingly different from that of the previous year. Instead of the latest styles from Rome and Paris, the event would feature "African Fabrics" and "Modern African Styles"; the cloth had been bought from "all parts of Africa," and the dresses had been made by members of the club. Two outfits made of Ethiopian fabric would be shown, and it was expressly stated that no imports were on the program or what was proclaimed to be the first African fashion show in Ethiopia.¹³ This spectacular change would seem to undermine radical opposition, but the students were undeterred. This may partially reflect the lack of communication within the university: the announcement came two days before the show and certainly after student resistance had begun to mount. Yet, even if they may have appreciated their criticism being taken seriously, their view remained unchanged that a fashion show, however Africanized, was out of place in a poor society.

Deeper layers of emotion also were involved and these had to do with the relationship between male and female students within the university.¹⁴ The men were concerned that female students seemed so open to western influences and to influential foreigners dictating how things should be done. Female students were harshly rebuked for their "shameful" participation in the fashion show. It was pointed out that many of the girls were studying political science and social work.

This is the frustrating and disconcerting side of that dress show. Where does their [our sisters'] political and socio-economic status when they work hard in hand with agencies that work against the social and cultural interests of our country? History will remember them as accomplices of reactionaries. They are particularly responsible for the introduction of immorality in this country and its impact on the morality of the society.¹⁵

Condescendingly, males took it upon themselves to explain to their female

colleagues the political and social implications of their participation.¹⁶

The issue brought into focus the division between male and female students. In addition to the separation that existed because of residential segregation on campus, it seemed to the men that there was a gender gap because their own rising political consciousness was not shared by the women. On the contrary, there was increasing influence on women by the very forces of foreign interference the men intended to fight. These seemed to be personalised in a Peace Corps volunteer, Linda Thistle, who was counsellor of extracurricular activities in the girls' hostel. According to the *University Reporter*, she helped to plan "educational, cultural, social, physical, spiritual and community welfare activities." She arranged for the girls to read to the blind, play with children in orphanages, and go on home decorating tours, as well as helped them arrange small social evenings for both men and women students.¹⁷ Linda Thistle also appeared to be the key person behind the two fashion shows.¹⁸

The male students' grievances against this teacher were presented in *Struggle* in a long article by Weltevne Makonnen. He charged her with keeping male and female students apart.¹⁹ Weltevne suggested that Thistle was perhaps fulfilling her obligations as an American citizen. "Perhaps she received a telegram from the White House saying 'We are not satisfied with the development of the boys...see to it that the girls are not spoilt'." Weltevne stated the boys' main complaints were that the girls showed no interest in national and international politics, and pointed out that female students were conspicuously absent from assemblies and panel discussions. He asked why Linda Thistle did not encourage girls to be more active and answered rhetorically.

Our sisters' hands have been washed by western soap.. Our sisters' feelings have been softened by western comfort. Our sisters' breasts are totally filled with the wish to live the western kind of life. We want our sisters not to forget where they came from, and to understand where they are and to think of where they are going. American philosophy of life leads us nowhere.²⁰

This article has been extensively quoted because it illustrates the thinking behind the conscious opposition to the fashion show.

The University Women's Club had a hostel committee concerned with the female students' social life as well as their living conditions. It circulated an information sheet which said that many female students led a monotonous and lonely existence, rarely going out in the evenings or on weekends, that many had never seen the surroundings of Addis Ababa, and that almost all wished to visit the resorts at Lake Langano. The club wanted to encourage women in the community to invite female students out or to their homes. This sheet was published without comment in a student paper²¹ and undoubtedly increased the feeling that girls received special outside attention, as did the fact that the proceeds of the 1967 show were spent on 'the girls' hostel'.²² The revenues of

the reformed show were to have benefited living conditions of all university students.²³ And the general antagonism toward everything the show represented, such a modification meant nothing or was made too late.

Despite all these considerations, it can be said with certainty that the fashion show was used by a small group of politically conscious students as a pretext to voice student resentment toward the Ethiopian government. There was another issue, the Agricultural Income Tax Proclamation, published at the end of 1967, which students had debated extensively and upon which some wanted to challenge the government.²⁴ The experiences of 1967, however, had made them cautious and reluctant to act. As it was considered too dangerous to tackle the government directly, it had to be attacked through what was considered its weaker parts, such as the university administration. On the surface the crisis which developed could be interpreted as a contest between students and administration. But the content of student pamphlets distributed in Addis Ababa in April 1968, also reaching schools in the provinces, demonstrated that the fashion show crisis was transformed into a contest and confrontation with the government.

The Demonstration

The university was aware of the strong opposition building up among students and some Ethiopian staff members,²⁵ and the possibility of organized protest was anticipated. Rather than cancel the affair, university officials after lengthy discussions worked out a "detailed set of procedures" for dealing with the situation.²⁶ Both government and police were contacted, and closure of the university was considered a possible outcome. It was known that a student group outside the leadership of the USUAA was planning to prevent the fashion show. USUAA informed the administrators that the action was not officially sanctioned by the union but was supported by its officers, which meant the USUAA executive had not obtained support from the majority of students for the move. USUAA officers were told that the union had to take responsibility for the demonstration. Through the Dean of Students, USUAA officers were requested to make a public disavowal of the proposed protest and to cooperate with the university in preventing disturbances. This was asking the impossible. To disassociate themselves from the feelings generating opposition would divorce the leadership from the progressive and radical body of students as well as discredit them in the eyes of their supporters. The USUAA leaders did not reply to any communications and remained from any dialogue with the administration.²⁷ Thus, before the day of the fashion show the administration and the students knew each other's positions.

Around 2 p.m. on Saturday March 30, students started to gather in the vicinity of the Makonnen Hall.²⁸ The Dean of Students repeatedly asked the

estimated 200 students not to interfere with driving cars and guests. He was ignored, and students pressed around the entrance, trying physically to prevent guests from entering. According to the *MSU Bulletin*

Some of the student demonstrators began to engage in physical acts of violence, women and girls were struck and slapped, rotten eggs were thrown indiscriminately at guests and participants; some guests were dragged from their cars and beaten. Students spit upon trustees, staff members and other university officials. There is no question about any of these incidents. There are eyewitnesses who can testify to all of them—and more. At this point, and only at this point, it became absolutely clear that unless the police were immediately summoned, acts of outragous terrorism would continue.

The students' actions were unprecedented. The methods used were deemed scandalous and shameful, termed acts of "terrorism and hooliganism" by the American vice-president, James Paul.²⁹ Very few Ethiopian students were thought to be capable of throwing rotten eggs and tomatoes at other people, and indeed very few did, 30 at the very most.³⁰ Given this small number, the actions taken against all the students were considered highly unprovocable and turned the general student body violently against the administration.³¹ Police, waiting outside the fence were asked to enter the campus.³² Violence escalated, students began throwing stones, and the police resorted to water and tear gas. Thirty-eight students were arrested, among them the USUAA president, the *Struggle* editor, and some members of the USUAA congress, reportedly as they were leaving the USUAA office.³³ The police proceeded to clear the Sidist Kilo campus upon the request of the university. Students in libraries, classrooms, and dormitories, hardly understanding what was going on, were chased off campus and denied food and lodging.³⁴ Upon closure of the Sidist Kilo campus, students began congregating at Arsi Kilo. An assembly was called for Sunday morning.

The administration, anticipating a sympathy boycott of classes from students on other campuses, decided that the university should be closed.³⁵ A couple of days later President Lameh announced in a press conference that the NUEUS, USUAA, and *Struggle* were abolished and that expulsion of USUAA officers was one condition for reopening the university.³⁶ The administration took pains to stress that all decisions were taken by the university and not, as during the previous year, by the government, but that the chancellor, board of governors, and other government officials had approved of the actions.³⁷ Decision making in the spring 1968 crisis lay in the hands of the president and vice-presidents, the American James Paul playing a leading role.

The University's Decision

More than a week afterward, the administration circulated an extensive

document explaining its decision to withdraw recognition of the NUEUS, LSUAA, and Struggle. By that time the Faculty Council had also "confirmed" the decision.³⁸ What the administration had previously ignored was now cited as justification. The unions were charged with violation of the Faculty Council regulation, for having failed to submit amendments to the NUEUS constitution which had been made at its annual congresses of 1966 and 1967,³⁹ for not providing LSUAA books for auditing despite repeated requests by SAC and for organizing boycotts of classes on three separate occasions. Even when the university stood willing to grant permission, as in the case of the Rhodesia demonstrations, LSUAA had deliberately refused to apply for it as well as for government approval according to the demonstration proclamation. The national union was also charged with misappropriation of money.⁴⁰ The fact that LSUAA during the previous couple of years had not accepted the invitation to name representatives to SAC was also used as an argument against the union. LSUAA's refusal to make an effort to stop the demonstration against the fashion show made the union according to the administration to a large degree responsible for the acts which had followed.

It is impossible to understand the decisions of the administration save in the context of the repressive Ethiopian political system. The April 11 paper from the university did not hide this fact: "Active anti-government agitation cannot be undertaken behind the shield of academic freedom. The University cannot tolerate such agitation and retain its autonomy from governmental interference. The University must either control its various activities or suffer control."⁴¹

The main reasons for the decisions were no doubt connected to student involvement in politics at the regional level, and this was openly expressed: "It was clear that a primary goal of NUEUS, LSUAA, and Struggle was serious political agitation, not excluding illegal actions which could lead to violence."⁴² The administration provided proof. First, a letter was found on the arrested LSUAA member Haile Mengiste from NUEUS president Melesse Kemu. The letter talked about big preparations for a celebration of Meles 2, which was the day of the previous year's protest against the demonstration proclamation. Students from the secondary and elementary schools who had taken part in the struggle would be invited, as would workers from the city. The letter concluded: "Fearlessly courageously, invited we will struggle to the last for the progress of our motherland and the welfare of the heroic Ethiopian people."⁴³ Second, the university knew of the NUEUS attempt to incorporate the high school students into the national union. In the days following the closure of the university and the abolition of the student press and unions, the high school students prepared to protest against the university. This resistance was used by the administration against the unions to justify a decision taken before the high school students moved into action. Finally Struggle was cited as another manifestation of the political involvement of LSUAA. "The new-

paper has attacked the Church in an irresponsible manner. One issue last year editorialized that the government was composed of "degenerate old men."⁴² The student writings in *Struggle* were characterized as "irresponsible, low-level and abusive outpourings...a sorry reflection of an editorial effort by members of a university community." The fact that issues of *Struggle* had been distributed illegally in the streets after March 30 was also taken as a confirmation of the above evaluation and was an additional justification for banning it.

The precarious position of student expression at this time is illustrated by the following incident. In the middle of February, student poet Haile Gebre Yohannes, whom widely admired "Bereketi Mergen" ("Presentation of Curse") had won the poetry contest of the 1967 University Day, had been arrested. According to Addis Zemen, the charges against him were connected with his writings—criticizing private persons as well as government authorities and parliament—which had circulated in Addis Ababa.⁴³ A *Struggle* editorial written in connection with this arrest,⁴⁴ supporting the cause of Haile, prompted the government security headquarters to call the editorial board and demand an apology threatening them with arrest if they did not comply.⁴⁵

Staff Scrutinies

The administration's insistence that its actions were "legal beyond any doubt" indicates possible dispute, and it was admitted that the decision was accepted with "great reluctance" in the executive committee of the Faculty Council. Staff members reacted strongly to the decision to close the university and were acutely aware of having been ignored by the administration.⁴⁶ Sixty to seventy teachers attended an unofficial general meeting to discuss questions bearing on the crisis. Its resolutions, sent to President Kassa and the vice-presidents, called the abdication of USUAA, NUEUS, and *Struggle* "extreme measures" which would undermine confidence in the university as well as aggravate the crisis.⁴⁷ Similar thoughts were expressed in a letter to Vice-President Paul. Another resolution demanded that students who had not been involved in the demonstration be allowed to return to classes without having to register or go through any special re-admission procedure. The staff members also committed themselves to collecting money and supervising its distribution to needy students for food and shelter until the reopening, and they asked that students be allowed to take personal belongings from the dormitories.

The staff members of SAC established a committee on student unrest which worked during the long vacation of 1968 and seriously questioned the decisions of the administration, stating that they violated the principle of law on which the university was based.⁴⁸ Their working paper stated that the unions were not involved in the fahion show demonstration and were penalized for earlier events and conditions. Only a proper procedure, such as a case before a compe-

tent university court, could decide about a withdrawal of recognition.⁴⁹ The university was also criticized for backing the police, even when they imprisoned students who had nothing to do with the disturbances. The committee regretted that no denunciation of the arbitrary arrests came from the university. It stated that as long as the university tolerated the violation of legality it could not expect its students to respect the principle. The staff felt strongly that democracy had been disregarded when they had not been allowed to express criticism of the measures taken. Confidence in the administration was felt to be at a very low point in spring 1968. Nevertheless, despite all the objections in these working papers to the administration's decisions, the surprising conclusion was that perhaps the very strict measures had saved the university and in fact had been necessary. This shows the staff's uncertainty as to what course the university should follow when faced with student challenges.⁵⁰

Student Agitation

Student reaction to the closure was simple and unanimous, it was considered the "most unreasonable action" the university had ever taken.⁵¹ The students intended to fight the decision and also obtain the release of the 35-40 imprisoned. The leadership was quick to raise four demands and make them known in Addis Ababa: (1) students in jail be released, (2) police stop arresting others, (3) the university be opened, (4) and staff and administrator be formally dismissed if the university remained closed.⁵² According to NUEUS president Mezin Kassu, the demands were presented to the prime minister. In the second week of April, after the administration had sent out its 11-page document justifying withdrawal of recognition from the student unions and *Struggle*,⁵³ a student pamphlet⁵⁴ strongly protested the decision. It was characterized as "unjust and arbitrary," and the pamphlet demanded it be rescinded, together with the disciplinary probation imposed on the elected student officials.

Locked out of the university, with the police dispersing every group of students they saw, it was very difficult for students to discuss and decide on any action. There was also the pressing need for food and lodging. USUAA formed two committees, one to raise money and another to get food.⁵⁵ The Mekane Yesus Youth Hostel Cafeteria served food on credit the first couple of days, and then meals for more than 1,500 students were bought there by USUAA until the police intervened to prevent congregating.⁵⁶ One weapon with which to fight was the high school students. In the previous couple of years the university student leaders had tried to reach the secondary students, and NUEUS had succeeded in constituting to include them in its membership. Leaflets were now distributed in various Addis Ababa secondary and even primary schools asking pupils to join their brethren at the university in their struggle.⁵⁷ As early as Tuesday April 2, police entered the Menlik II and Tafari Makonnen

schools to prevent the agitation which had already started and was almost immediately effective in most secondary schools. Pamphlets named the schools and the dates on which students were called to act, and they responded.

The student pamphlets posed a serious challenge to the government and gave a foretaste of what was to come the following year. Written in Amharic, they appealed directly to the people in highly emotional and patriotic terms, attempting to refute the unfavorable impression of student behavior created by the mass media and to explain what the struggle was all about.³⁸ They argued that great landowners should be required to abandon uncultivated land to the poor, that most Ethiopians lived in poverty and were ruled by an oppressive government which drained Ethiopian blood of all vitality. Educated Ethiopians betrayed a whole nation for £ \$330 per month, and the students called them to wake up, unite the team of their mother Ethiopia, break the bondage of mental sterility and corruption, and put an end to the agonizing and tortuous miseries of the people. The pamphlets informed the public about the police occupation of the four campuses and their confiscation of money, typewriters, and the mimeographing machine belonging to USUAA and NC EUS,³⁹ about mass arrests and police brutality. They also referred to foreign interference, saying that whites were attempting to dominate Ethiopia in accordance with their ideology that blacks were their servants. James Paul, the American vice-president of HSIU, was accused of responsibility for closure of the university. He was accused of being an agent of Lyndon Johnson, stamping the American colonization of Ethiopia. The accusation that the regime was in the pocket of foreigners was meant to discredit the government seriously, since one of the most cherished aspects of Ethiopia's traditional heritage was the valiant fight against foreign intruders.

When the university announced reopening on April 5 without giving attention to student demands, many boycotted.⁴⁰ There were bloody clashes with police,⁴¹ who were everywhere to prevent student groups congregating, and the inevitable stone throwing, beating, and damage to cars.⁴² The newspapers, having first reported the failure of their demonstration according to the HSIU Bulletin, now poured out scorn and contempt on student behavior in the Amharic papers. For the government it was imperative that the crisis end, since its continuation provoked an increasing number of individuals to raise questions about Ethiopian society. The government mobilized older citizens to march to the palace and beg the emperor for his mercy. Haile Selassie went on radio and television urging, in a long speech, the students to return to classes.⁴³ They did not comply, even when 30 of the 37 in detention were freed, and the Ministry of Education closed the secondary schools.⁴⁴ At the end of the following week, municipal officials, representatives of parents, and community elders begged the emperor to reopen the schools. He told them he had ordered this to be done and the remaining imprisoned students to be let out on bail for the Easter

holiday,⁶⁵ which meant they already were released.

The calm that followed was only temporary. The students had won a partial victory and had demonstrated that an imperial order could be disobeyed. They had mobilized a greater number of individuals than ever before into political action, and they had distributed more antigovernment propaganda than at any time since the 1960 coup. The administration's decision to close the university aided the activists tremendously; it was no secret that Ethiopian university teachers, alienated by the decision, harbored considerable sympathy for the students, as did other educated Ethiopians working in the government. There were many who gave economic support to the students.⁶⁶

One outcome of the crisis was a fundamental rift between the administration and the students. President Kassa seemed to retreat into the background in comparison to vice-president Paul, the American, he played such a conspicuous part that the force of student assault was directed against foreign dominance in Ethiopia, although Paul most probably was acting on the wishes of the Ethiopian authorities. The credibility of the university was so seriously undermined in the eyes of students that to be obedient to it appeared almost treasonable to Ethiopia. The matter of the banned press and unions remained. Examinations postponed the issue until autumn 1968, giving the university time to prepare for the student challenge.

Notes

1. UR 28.3 1968.8.
2. UR 15.5.1967:6.
3. UR 22.5 1967.
4. *Struggle* 27.3.1968:13, "Message to Our Sisters by Your Brother."
5. The traditional domestic weaving industry in Ethiopia produces artistic and widely admired cotton material for the traditional Amhara and Tigre styles of dress, which had become commonly accepted also in northern and central Ethiopia.
6. Pamphlet "The Philosophy of Fashion Show in the Era of Narkomism," distributed March 1968.
7. Pamphlet, "Faulty Reasoning," distributed April 1968.
8. UR 28.3.1968.8, *Struggle* 27.3.1968 13.
9. *Struggle* 27.3.1968 13.
10. *Struggle* 6.3.1968 14.
11. Pamphlet, "What Is To Be Done?" distributed after April 11, 1968.
12. UR 3.4.1968:4
13. UR 28.3.1968:8
14. See chapter 1, 4.
15. *Struggle* 27.3.1968 13
16. Ibid.; Pamphlet, "The Philosophy of Fashion Show"
17. UR 4.4.1967:4
18. UR 15.5 1967:6; 28.3.1968.8
19. *Struggle* 6.3.1968:13-15
20. That is, brainwashed.

21. *BO* 3.4.1967 4.
22. *UR* 22.5.1967
23. *UR* 26.3.1968.8.
24. Schwab 1972 19, 93, 103-105, .50, 154
25. *Struggle* 27.3.1968 13, "Message to Our Sisters by Your Brother", *LC* 94, 1-1 1973.
26. From the President's Office to members of the University Community, *HSIU Bulletin* 1.4 1968 2.
27. SAC Committee on Student Welfare "The Political Rationale of Student Unrest," 1968.7; *HSIU Bulletin* 1.4.1968 3
28. The following description is based on official university explanations of the event. The reporter of the *University Reporter* was arrested, which prevented it from giving an account (*UR* 1.4.1968 1), *HSIU Bulletin* 1.4.1968 3
29. *UR* 1.4.1968 1
30. *LC* 33, 2.2.1971
31. Ibid., *UR* 1.4.1968 1
32. *HSIU Bulletin* 1.4.1968 4.
33. *UR* 1.4.1968 1.
34. *UR* 3.4.1968.3
35. *HSIU Bulletin* 1.4.1968.4
36. *UR* 3.4.1968 1
37. *UR* 1.4.1968 3
38. To the University Community from the Executive Committee of the Faculty Council, 11.4.1968
39. Ibid pp 5, 6 & 7 According to the Faculty Council legislation, amendments to a student organization's charter had to be submitted to the Dean of Students and SAC for approval (FC Legislation November 1964, October 1967, July 1968, Title V: Section 1, 7).
40. Definitely, suspicion occurred from time to time that elected representatives unduly spent student money in connection with travelling abroad to participate in student conferences. The "substantial irregularities" found by SAC in NUE's handling of TU funds (SAC Report to Faculty Council, March 21 1968) were mostly due to two circumstances: (1) the union's reluctance to submit an auditor's report to SAC and (2) the fact that the union's bank account was not in the name of the union but in that of the union's treasurer. The student reasoning behind the first was that it was not in the interest of the union to reveal the areas of its spending (*UR* 9.1.1967 1). As for the second, it was meant as a safeguard against any possible action by the Ethiopian government to liquidate the union's account in connection with, for example, demonstrations ("NUE's Finances Called A Scandal," *UR* 23.11.1967 2). In 1971 I assisted an Ethiopian student in her efforts to open a day care center for children of leper parents. It was to be financed by voluntary monthly private contributions. When we were opening a bank account she insisted that the only way was to have it opened in our private names lest something unpredictable happened to the institution she so much wanted to establish. Her suspicion was very strong even though she was in no way connected with student political activist groups.
41. Memo from the Executive Committee of the Faculty Council 1.4.1968 1.
42. Photocopy of letter in Amharic to Hailu Mengesha from Meftin Kassu, *UR* 3.4.1968.
43. *AZ Yekuitik* 10, 1968 (18.2.1968)
44. *Struggle* 6.3.1968.
45. *Struggle* 27.3.1968 4
46. A recurring complaint from faculty members was that members of the Faculty Council

and especially of its Executive Committee did not represent the feelings and views of the general body of staff members who had elected them to office, but instead tended to identify themselves with the views of the administration (personal notes, 1970-1971); Draft Letter from Vice-President Paul, circulated for comment, undated April 1968.

47. Memo to President Kema Wolde Mariam, April 4, 1968, from Stanley, Fisher, Low, Medha Wolde Mariam, Aunekish Beyene, Sevard.
48. SAC Committee on Student Unrest, Loyalty in the University 1968 3, 9.
49. Ibid. The legislation of the Faculty Council for revoking a union charter stated that the Dean of Students in consultation with SAC could do so when the union had "violated its constitution to the detriment of the University" and had refused to comply with other provisions of the Faculty Council legislation (Consolidated Legislation, HSIU Faculty Council Title V Section 1 a, November 1964; October 1967). After April 1968, the staff committee which worked on the revision of the student affairs legislation specified a more detailed procedure to be followed in the case of a revocation which also provided for the possibility of appeal to SAC, "which will conduct a full hearing before deciding whether one of the grounds of charter revocation exists" (Title V, Chapter D, of legislation, HSIU Faculty Council, undated-October 1968 circulated for comment). (The legislation was suspended due to student opposition.) The revised Title V of 1970 shortly stated that an appeal would be to the Faculty Council, but the possibility of SAC conducting a "full hearing" was then left out (HSIU Student Affairs 1970-1971, Chapter C, Section 4, point 71). This part of the 1968 legislative attempt may certainly be quoted to show that many staff members opposed very strongly the decisions of the administration concerning the student unions and press.
50. "The Meets of the Administration," Committee on Student Unrest, 1968.
51. UR 3.4.1968 2.
52. UR 3.4.1968 1.
53. To the University Community from the Executive Committee of the Faculty Council 11.4.1968.
54. Hampden, "What Is To Be Done?" 1968.
55. UR 1.4.1968:2.
56. UR 3.4.1968 2.
57. UR 3.4.1968 2.
58. The following reflects the content of several one-page handouts of *Strugger* during the 1968 crisis, all undated
59. Tesbome Wagaw, "Report on Student Support," 1969:41.
60. SWS 5.4.1961.
61. Africa Diary 1968:393.,
62. AZ Megabit 27, 1960 (5.4.1968).
63. AZ March 1, 1960 (9.4.1968).
64. AZ March 2, 1960 (10.4.1968)
65. AZ March 6, 1960 (14.4.1968)
66. LC 90, 23 2.1973

4:6 Interlude

After the crisis of spring 1968, elements of the university community earnestly attempted to set their house in order. Having experienced the weakness of the staff in questions of vital importance to the university, about 70 teachers made an unsuccessful attempt to establish an all-university faculty association also including foreign teachers.¹ An interfaculty committee was set up to examine faculty administration, and student relations within the university as well as the more fundamental causes of student unrest.² Academia committed itself to introspection and self-examination. Students and teachers were asked to contribute suggestions about the unrest, although student cooperation was scanty due to the usual suspicion about hidden motives. Was this a pretext for collecting information on the student movement to be reported to higher authorities?³ Individuals as well as groups of staff members from the various colleges and faculties submitted opinions to the SAC subcommittee preparing papers on the social and psychological situation of university students, on the effect of 30 years of modern education in Ethiopia on current influences on the students, and on the political aspects of student unrest.⁴ Sympathetic understanding was offered the students, but quite a lot of the suggested causes were in fact symptoms of what was termed a "deep-rooted disease".

There was unanimity about one aspect of university life: the conspicuous lack of contact, confidence, and communication between staff and students as well as administration and students. The latter were said to have no sense of belonging to the university, which to them was essentially an alien institution. The economic problems of the majority were often mentioned as a source of frustration.⁵ The lack of interesting lectures, panel discussions, and debates which previously had enlivened campus life and the general lack of means for the

release of youthful energy were noted. Perhaps more homework would do, or more recognition for academic achievement?" Yet, it was commonly accepted among staff members and students that the main cause of unrest lay outside the university—in the society to which the university had to accommodate itself. Dr. Abdureh Worule, Department of Educational Psychology, gave an extensive questionnaire to students in three faculties related to the 1968 crisis. Asked to suggest primary causes for the series of disturbances in the last few years, the students provided answers clearly related to social and political conditions in Ethiopia.⁶ Opinion surveys conducted in the Faculty of Arts yielded similar results.⁷ An Ethiopian faculty member wrote to SAC "In my opinion the whole lies boil down to how to harness the energy, aspirations and idealism of Ethiopian youth for a common cause and a common goal in nation building."⁸

The working paper of the committee on student unrest acknowledged that the students lived in a country where the sovereign ruled by divine right, yet political views embodied in the French and American revolutions were introduced as part of their general education. The faculty clearly felt it was insufficient and too simple to say that students responded to the economic sacrifices their country made for their education with ingratitude, hatred, and terror, which were the usual government allegations. Suggested remedies, however, were incompossible with Ethiopian conditions. The university was advised to facilitate contact between government and students, officials could offer reports, and students could suggest solutions to vital political questions. The animosity, lack of mutual respect, and vast difference in social status between government officials and students, combined with the autocratic spirit of the former, made such a proposal unrealistic. It was suggested also that lack of communication within the university could be remedied by student representation on committees dealing with student affairs.

The underlying assumptions of the working paper seem to be that if students had been better informed, if they had been nearer the decision-making process, they would have been able to comprehend the many obstacles confronting development at this stage in their country's history. Consequently, they would have been less impatient and prone to make trouble. One can only conclude that for the university the problem was essentially how to get the students to understand that things had to be the way they were in Ethiopia and that the university had no choice but to accommodate itself to existing circumstances.⁹

Chub: November 1968

At the opening of the new academic year, activists clearly aimed at restoration of their unions and press and the return of printing equipment taken by the security police in April. In addition, there was an evident desire to continue the

political agitation began the previous year outside the university, but for this the students needed a convenient time and target. Meanwhile, tensions grew between the students and the administration. Resolutions from student assemblies and petition lists were presented to SAC asking for the return of student equipment.¹⁰ The question of whether to continue the USUAA or return to the system of campus unions was taken up in a student referendum. The result was submitted to SAC as evidence of support for retention of USUAA. It was rejected by SAC mainly because the students had refused to take into consideration the new Faculty Council legislation, worked out by a committee during the long vacation of 1964.

The intention of the legislation was clearly to change the character of student organizations and to make the retention of USUAA difficult. A key provision was the "adequate evidence" requirement,¹¹ which was designed to ensure that majority student views were properly represented. The Dean of Students had to be given the signatures of 33 percent of all the students in the group which the organization intended to represent.¹² It was explicitly stated that only organizations which had the aim of acting on university premises and had only HSIU students as members could be chartered.¹³ Only third-year students were eligible for the top three offices. Students who had completed less than one-half year could have no more than one-quarter vote each in the election of officers. These provisions explicitly excluded high school students and were designed to decrease the influence of the freshmen who were among the most radical. The previous year all officers of USUAA had been second-year students, and in the 1966-1967 academic year 40 percent of the total student enrollment were freshmen.¹⁴

SAC had by now realized that little could be done to contain student expansion by university regulation. Increasingly, SAC referred to compliance with national law as the sole criterion for publication, since "this standard allows the maximum freedom permissible to students in any society."¹⁵ In practice, no one was allowed to express any political opinion in the open media. This was the grim reality of "the law," whatever the provisions of the Constitution of Ethiopia. No one in the university entertained the slightest doubt concerning these facts. SAC came out with solutions which actually were exercises in artless sophistry and could not but appear to the students as patently dishonest.

Student political activism had reached the stage at which acceptance of such legislation was anathema, even if students were now offered 30 percent representation on SAC.¹⁶ Students could also sit as regular members on committees which administered the subsidiary system, housing, cafeteria, and sports. Concerning confiscated property, SAC informed the students that the security police were willing to return the equipment on the understanding that it would be given to the elected officials of any city- or universitywide union which was chartered under the provisions of the new Faculty Council legislation. Did the

administration use the security police to barges with the students concerning the legislation? Or was it the government which wanted to put pressure on the students?

The immediate target chosen for student action was not the new student affairs legislation but the work of the Student Aid Committee. Its mandate had been to collect information on the basis of which students who could be financially supported by their families would be excluded from the \$50 stipend, formerly given to almost all regardless of family situation. All previous screening attempts had proved utter failures. When students had been required to obtain court certificates or proof they needed university support, almost all had produced them. According to the SAC investigations, the wealthier the student, the easier it had been to obtain the certificate from the courts.¹⁷ The latest screening committee judged 406 students, mostly from Addis Ababa, able to support themselves, which meant that their financial assistance would be withdrawn. A general assembly of students on November 13 decided to start a boycott of classes the next day and to demonstrate against the actions¹⁸; the screening policy was interpreted as a deliberate effort to drive politically active students from the university.¹⁹

Apart from the immediate issue, the students also demanded moderation of their press and unions.²⁰ The action began as a sit-down strike in front of Ram Makonnen Hall with the intention of blocking all administrative staff from getting out. On November 15 the students tried to demonstrate, without permit, outside the university. Authorised police dispersed them from the main public squares, and a couple of days of clashes and mass arrests followed.²¹ By now it was clear that the national issues outweighed grievances against the administration.²² Indeed, students attacked the decision of the Faculty Council in order to force a situation in which the government could become the target.

The government wanted to prevent at all costs a repetition of the spring crisis and accordingly gave in to a number of student demands. On the fourth day of the strike, 15 representatives went to see the prime minister.²³ Present at the meeting were the president of the NSUJ board of governors (Minister of Finance Yilma Dersso), the Lord Mayor of Addis Ababa, the chief of security and police, and other ministers.²⁴ The newspapers reported the three demands related to the university.²⁵ The screening of students was suspended, those who had already lost their financial support were reinstated,²⁶ and the prime minister told the students to elect officials for their union and to start their publication.²⁷ Properties taken by the security police were returned the same day. A few days later President Xaifa informed the students that the referendum concerning the USUAA had been found acceptable.²⁸ (the same referendum SAC had rejected as inadequate). The Student Aid Committee resigned in protest.²⁹ Thus, there was a return to the state of affairs existing prior to the March April 1968 incidents. The president and other university officials were

kept completely out of the talks between students and government. They were neither consulted nor informed about the decisions, and attempts to find out exactly what had been decided were unsuccessful.¹⁰

For SAC the crucial question was whether the permission to form student unions had been conditional or subject to the new Faculty Council legislation. Further inquiries at the prime minister's office and to the board of governors brought verbal instruction that it was preferable to have the new student affairs legislation put aside for the moment.¹¹ SAC was placed in an intolerable position. Its members had worked hard to draft the new legislation keeping in mind the obvious desire of the government to restrict and constrain student activities. They had worked out means by which student unions could be formed that would be acceptable to higher authorities,¹² and their attitude had been one of deference and apprehension toward the government.

The legislation had been approved by the board of governors with two modifications. (1) SAC and the Faculty Council had proposed that SAC's composition be half students and half faculty, plus the chairman and the Dean of Students, where the board had insisted on 40 percent students and 60 percent faculty. (2) SAC and the Faculty Council had requested to permit the formation of student unions if they could prove support by 50 percent plus one of the student body they intended to represent; whereas the board of governors insisted on a showing of 75 percent. When SAC had protested this would make the formation of unions difficult, the board had lowered its requirement to 55 percent.¹³ Clearly, SAC was more flexible than the board of governors. The subsequent deal between students and government, including members of the board of governors, which repudiated the new legislation made the Faculty Council appear as the oppressor of students. At SAC's own request it was suspended by the Faculty Council, as was its legislation dealing with student associations and publications. (Not until May 1971 did the Faculty Council again establish its Student Affairs Committee.¹⁴) The Faculty Council regulation on the matter stated that students could now form their associations and express their views according to their constitutional rights and national law no longer with reference to university legislation.¹⁵ This meant that the Faculty Council, having been grabbed in the back by the government, no longer wanted to act as a buffer between the students and the government.

Struggle attacked what it perceived as the contradictory and inimical stand of the Faculty Council, which professed to detest government interference yet held that student organizations and press should be brought under national law, which implied censorship.¹⁶ Yet, the victory to permit union work was most important. The reactions of the Faculty Council offended the national pride of student activists, even if they themselves violently doubted their national authorities, they dabbled even more to have them challenged by foreigners. Antagonism to foreign staff made students view the wisdom of the HSU charter in

excluding staff from the board of governors. Great suspicion as to the motives of foreigners was expressed, but student contempt toward the administration definitely also included Ethiopians. Indeed, the government found it necessary to disassociate the emperor from the administration by removing his grandson-in-law, Kassa Woldjé Mariam, from the presidency at the beginning of 1969.

The government intervened in the policy on student affairs because it wanted to avoid a crisis similar to the one in April. In intelligence of ideological developments within the student movement left no doubt about the strength and determination of some activists although there had been considerable opposition from a group calling itself the *Classless*.¹⁷ They did not favor the radical line and claimed that democratic procedure was not followed in general assemblies. It was charged that some activists, through efficient manipulation, were able to dictate to the student body, classifying those who protested their methods as "rabble," "agents," and "cowards." Student pamphlets lamented the lack of order and the fact that the right of everyone to voice opinions was not safeguarded enough.¹⁸ Struggle wrote about occurrences of violence in the political struggle.¹⁹ The efficiency of student activists in rallying the student body was by then well known to the government and partly explains its concessions to student demands, but the language of their pamphlets was even more frightening. They wrote about "jailed violence" and about turning the university into a "Sorbonne"²⁰ and thereby declare a mass revolution.²¹ The role of the student in the university was "national emancipation" and "national liberation."²² Their writing left no one in doubt that some activists were prepared to be uncompromising in their demands to the university.²³ Under these circumstances, only a ritual was considered possible by the government to avert an unpredictable uprising.

The strongest faction among the activists still wanted to act as a pressure group on the government, wanted to be heard as a body on national affairs; however, the segment which professed a Marxist revolutionary stand, opposing student negotiations with the government,²⁴ was steadily growing. After the restoration of USUAA in autumn 1968, the first student to state a Marxist line in an election campaign nearly won.²⁵ With a strong sense of victory and purpose the students entered the most violent and dramatic phase of their confrontation with the Ethiopian government.

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Part V

The Revolution That Failed

1969

5:1 The Issues of Student Agitation, Spring 1969

At the end of December 1969 USUAA president Tilahun Gizaw was murdered, in the opinion of many, by the security police. The following day a gathering of thousands of student mourners was fiercely broken up by the Imperial Bodyguard, who shot several people. The university was closed and the unions banned.

This section will attempt to record the events and explain the circumstances which led the government to resort to the sternest measures. It will show how student activism, growing steadily through the 1960s, reached a climax and eventually caused such severe erosion of government authority that an appeasement policy was gradually replaced with uncompromising suppression.

Education for All

In late November 1968 a general student assembly discussed the educational situation in the country and decided students would demonstrate on relevant issues.¹ Action was postponed due to the agreement reached between the students and the government, but in early February 1969 university students were propelled into action. A clash between students and police in Debre Berhan left one student, Sisayew Kebde, dead and several others wounded. The demonstrators in Debre Berhan protested against conditions in the schools and demanded that three students who had been expelled from the Teachers Training Institute should be reinstated.² On February 24 a petition was circulated in Addis Ababa demanding a general assembly to consider the overall crisis in education and action in support of the Debre Berhan students. In a general assembly three days later, USUAA distributed a four-page pamphlet which attempted to explain to all Ethiopians the effects of the government's

educational policy. It listed six demands accompanied by a statement to the effect that unless these were met by the government the students would not return to classes.¹ The assembly approved the demands and decided to let the executive council set the date of the demonstration—to be communicated to the students on the day of action to prevent the security and police forces from knowing beforehand.

One demand was the removal of the district governor, Trefaye Inqu Selassie, and the commissioner of police both of Debre Berhan, and their trial for the murder of Shiferaw. Another sought removal of the Minister of Education, Akale Work Habte Wold, as well as of the man responsible for the distribution of scholarships offered to Ethiopia by other countries. The cancellation of fee payment in schools and a substantial increase in the budget for education were also demanded. Finally the immediate expulsion of Indian teachers and American PCVs was called for.

In the ensuing struggle between students and authorities, the latter used the newspapers and radio to air their views, which were answered by student pamphlets.² The demands increased in number and radicalism. Schools had to be built throughout rural Ethiopia and the whole educational system changed, as it was said to be incompatible with the socioeconomic conditions of the nation.³ To gain a deeper understanding of student attitudes and antigovernment agitation, an examination of student writings is needed. Special attention will be paid to the clandestine pamphlets which were circulated in Addis Ababa and which also reached other towns. My analysis is also crucial to the overall intention of this chapter to explain why the government acted as it did in late 1969.

It seems reasonable to assume that imposition of extra fees in the government schools, which in principle were free, was significant in generating student agitation. Widespread protests over a new £310 registration fee disturbed the schools at Dejew, Nazareth, and Mekelle in autumn 1968 and then spread to most schools in the empire.⁴ According to student writings, the parent committees created to encourage local initiative in expanding school facilities consisted of landlords and rich merchants and were "institutions of class rule" created as "means of communication between the robbers and the robbed." A variety of other fees were described: a £33 elementary school registration fee; examination fees for the twelfth grade amounting to more than £520, and fees for chairs and tables, water and electricity. It was hard enough to pay for school uniforms and exercise books, and hundreds of students were said to have been expelled because of failure to pay fees.

The Third Five Year Development Plan launched in 1963, provided educational capital investment of \$666 million, \$384 million from foreign grants and loans and \$304 million from domestic resources, of which "8 million dollars will be forthcoming in voluntary local contributions."⁵ The SIDA (Swedish Inter-

national Development Agency) school building project, which demanded 50 percent from domestic resources—government and local—and existed a few years and had proved highly efficient. Quite a lot of local fund-raising took place in connection with this project. The national prestige of governors was often connected to their ability to raise local funds for development projects, and they pressured people to contribute extra money in order to develop educational facilities.

Basic wages for unskilled workers over the last decade had been almost static, retail prices had risen, and the living standard of the average farmer and tenant had deteriorated. Students demanded that parent committees, being unrepresentative, should be dissolved, and a stop should be put to all extra fee requirements "which people pay taking it out of their mouths." Extra fees allegedly prevented the poor from sending even one of their children to school. Student pamphlets pointed out that poor farmers were hardly taxed for education and health services only to provide such facilities for others, that is, those in the urban areas.¹ Boycuitment in connection with local fund raising was also mentioned, although not specified.²

Throughout 1969, the troubled situation in the secondary schools continued to fuel student agitation. Ameen Waleed Hanna's U.A. paper, "Student Unrest and the School Director," describes the background for disturbances in three towns, Hama, Deir ez-Zor, and Shashunah.³ In Hama 90 percent of the students refused to pay required fees because they said their parents could not afford it and had already paid £3.50 each to build the only senior high school in the district. Each family had also contributed £3.15 to construct a road from Al-Burayq to Volcano, and parents were also being charged £3.14-15 per hectare of land for the development program the governor had initiated. Some students suffered corporal punishment and were suspended from school for four days. The fees were finally reduced but the students and the local community still refused to pay. During the third week the *new* governor expelled the PLS teachers who had encouraged and supported the protest, which hardened student attitudes. They refused to return to school until sufficient explanations were given for the expulsion.

In Shashunah the director suspended four and expelled six students. Some teachers wanted an investigation of the matter and boycotted teaching when the director did not respond. They also gave as reasons for their strike the excessive use of corporal punishment and the misappropriation of money collected from the students. In Deir ez-Zor things went out of control, and students attacked the director, who escaped. Security forces intervened, and the students were punished.

Student propaganda cited statistics on enrollment, failures, drop-outs, and the numbers who reached higher education.⁴ "Of the 12,000 who sat for college entrance examinations this year, the government had decided that there were

places available for less than 2,000.¹² Inadequate facilities were noted: "Children of the poor are left in empty rooms like soldiers sent to war without being given guns and ammunition."¹³ The lack of schools in the rural areas was repeatedly mentioned. "We cannot understand why people in the countryside who are the main tax payers, have never gotten schools and why they should pay for others to learn."¹⁴ The suffering of the many thousands who, because of the "inefficiency" of the educational system, dropped out or failed the sixth, eighth, or twelfth grade examinations was described. For the boys the prospect was "theft, killing, breaking into houses," and for girls "to sell their bodies to the American Mapping Mission and the rich, ruling people."¹⁵

Extensive use was made of UNESCO statistics to compare literacy in Ethiopia with other African countries. The "3,000 years" used by the government in its propaganda to refer to Ethiopia's long history of independence was ridiculed. What were the achievements of those 3,000 years? The most abhorred regimes in Africa, South Africa and Ian Smith's Rhodesia, "give more educational opportunities to Africans than Ethiopia."

Ethiopian Identity

The pamphlets expressed the same strong dissatisfaction with education in Ethiopia as had the resolutions of the NUEUS Sixth Congress. Instruction was not related to the social and economic realities of the nation and did not give due emphasis to subjects of primary importance.¹⁶ Education had to identify and find solutions for existing problems, and students therefore had to study Ethiopia's history, culture, and economic conditions, rather than the conditions of other countries. Academic training should give way to vocational education appropriate to the needs of the country.¹⁷ Curricula had to be developed which would encourage students to return to the rural areas, since the urban economy obviously could not absorb all the students who fled from the countryside. This advice was included in the report on manpower strategy prepared in 1966 for the Ethiopian government by Ginsberg and Smith.¹⁸ The government acknowledged that the development of curricula appropriate for the needs of rural Ethiopia had not been satisfactory.¹⁹

Student concern for the practical, specific content of curricula was linked to their conviction, however vaguely expressed, that the schools had failed to transmit culture and heritage and to imbue the student with an identity. Opposition was voiced to foreign educational advisers who were incapable of devising solutions to Ethiopian problems and seemed to have created a system designed to destroy Ethiopian culture.²⁰ The students avoided any controversial discussion about what constituted Ethiopian culture or which ethnic group could be considered the carrier of it. In this connection it is interesting to note student attitudes toward the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, commonly considered a

central factor in Ethiopian identity

As noted earlier, the first criticism of the church was conveyed in the popular public poetry readings on College Day. Such was their contempt for the ignorant clergy²¹ that in 1966 and 1967 students ranked the profession last out of eleven.²² Students asserted that the church's teachings—to endorse poverty and exploitation—had contributed to the underdevelopment of Ethiopia.²³ Also, there was the church's moral laxity and spiritual torpidity. What had become of the Christian tradition of faithfully tackling national evils? Where were the voices of the Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel? "History will judge the Church for its silence when thousands go to bed without any food."²⁴ Then there was the question of the church's wealth, "the enormous aggrandizement of land" and its privileged position in the state.²⁵ Contempt was expressed for the luxurious life-style of the high-ranking clergy, for their business transactions and ownership of villas, apartment buildings, and Mercedes cars.²⁶ Acknowledging that the vast majority of priests were not much better off than the average poor peasant (in 1969 students appealed to the common priests to join them in their opposition to the ruling class),²⁷ The 1967 NUEUS resolutions, otherwise ignoring the church, demanded that the government nationalize ecclesiastical landholdings.²⁸ There were scattered stances recommending separation of church and state²⁹ and increasingly students raised the question of equality in the treatment of religious groups.³⁰

The view that religion was the opium of the people was prevalent among many activists.³¹ Most of the candidates during the student election of 1971 vigorously attacked the church, but the statement which received the most spontaneous and loud applause was the following: "We, the students, must teach the Ethiopian masses that there is no God."³² A presidential candidate from the College of Theology, after having attacked the church, received a chorus of low-spirited stumbling when he tried to urge his audience to distinguish between the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the church, which in reality was "socialistic." To give according to ability and receive according to need was in keeping with the beat in Christian teaching. Student criticism of the church was profound, whether it came from the minority who supported it, students of the College of Theology and the Kalmboe Abebe Student Association (*The Faith of Our Fathers*, formed 1958), or from the majority who were estranged from the church.

In 1969 some activists joined the Kalmboe Abebe, and that year its publication, *Friar*, pointedly attacked imperialist/neo-colonialist influences in Ethiopia.³³ Student interest in the apocrypha was yet another manifestation of resistance to western cultural influences and of the search for Ethiopian identity. This interest may also be seen as underlining the struggle against Melle Wengel (Full Gospel), a movement which had its spiritual roots in the Swedish and Finnish Peasant Movements and the Sudan Interior Mission. From 1965 on the

movement became the strongest, fastest expanding religious revivalist force in the towns, particularly attracting students from the secondary schools and the university. It developed into an independent indigenous church with no economic support from abroad. Student activists objected that the vigor and enthusiasm of the movement left no room for political interest on the part of the students involved. They accused the latlos of being "subservient tools" of "religious imperialism," since westerners used missionaries as tools for neocolonialist infiltration in Ethiopia.³⁴ Under such circumstances, it was the duty of Ethiopian citizens to rally behind their "helpless" church. "Never is it to be forgotten that our Tabots^{*} were lined up in the battlefield of Adowa when Menilek performed a military feat that changed the historic trend of white colonialism in black Africa."³⁵

The fact that many activists felt Ethiopian identity was somehow connected to the tradition of the Orthodox Church means that this view had not yet become controversial. Also, the clandestine circulation of Oromo proverbs and songs, "Kene Bekun,"³⁶ shows that there were definite signs of a search for identity on the part of Ethiopia's subject peoples.

The Peace Corps

A number of pamphlets demanded the removal of the Indian and PCV teachers. The Peace Corps was charged with accelerating the "fragmentation of our identity" and disintegrating

those essential values on which we hope to build our future Ethiopia....The consequence of repeatedly telling the Ethiopian youth that his language is inadequate (vague, lacking in concepts and inhibitive to modernization), his values inferior and his society incapable of creativity and lacking ability is extremely harmful. The young person's natural beauty and pride is undermined.³⁷

Student pamphlets also complained that Indian teachers were known for "taking the virginity of our girls," that the Peace Corps spread "decadent Western perverted sexual practices."³⁸ The expression of moral outrage was very persistent, but the main reason for antagonism against the Peace Corps was linked to the students' perception that they were yet another "instrument of U.S. endeavor for moral, political and economic domination" in Ethiopia.³⁹

Student writings never defined which values and what aspects of their cultural heritage had to be preserved. We hear, in fact, more of what had to be rejected:

*A centrally placed tablet of scriptures found in all Ethiopian Orthodox churches representing the Ark of the Covenant.

Education should free the new generation from old restraints, such as the belief in the divine right to rule and the notion that it was shameful to question and speak against a person in a higher position.⁴⁰ New values were rapidly replacing old ones through the schools, and students were concerned that the Ethiopians had no freedom of choice as to which values, which institutions, because of the overwhelmingly strong American influence in their educational system.⁴¹

The presence of the Peace Corps had been questioned and criticized for many years,⁴² even if large sections of the university students appreciated the hard work of many of these teachers and even hailed what they called their "self-sacrificing missionary spirit."⁴³ An Ethiopian staff member, defending the Peace Corps, agreed that students were right when they accused PCVs of hurting student pride and destroying their cultural values, but their protest was unavoidable as long as resources for expanding education were insufficient.⁴⁴ Such an argument had no place in the determined student agitation of 1969 in which the Peace Corps became a target. Unfortunate incidents of mistreatment of PCV teachers by secondary school students occurred, and the Peace Corps office in Addis Ababa was broken into. The student opposition eventually led to the withdrawal of nearly all Peace Corps teachers from Ethiopia.⁴⁵

Many PCVs strongly criticized the U.S. war in Vietnam, and large numbers increasingly perceived their mission to be a "super-coating" for the U.S. global military policy.⁴⁶ They showed little restraint in communicating their views, including criticism of the materialism of American culture. One may venture to say that this influence must have informed Ethiopian student criticism of the United States. Undoubtedly the Peace Corps helped revolutionary teaching methods by discouraging learning by rote and by encouraging questioning and independent thinking. The new verbs, abilities must have had an effect on the political attitudes of students in Ethiopia and on their willingness to challenge their government. Certainly, many of the PCVs sympathized with the student cause both before and during 1969 and even voiced their support in a resolution to the Ministry of Education "We find teaching in Ethiopia irrelevant, and perhaps unusual to the needs of the majority of students and the development needs of the country."⁴⁷ The resolution recommended a complete halt to Peace Corps teaching in Ethiopia on the grounds that the program supported a "non-responsive educational system" and impeded "national development." Reference was made to Ethiopia's relatively low expenditure on education and to the fact that the Peace Corps program lowered the government's incentive to provide the secondary schools with urgently needed Ethiopian teachers. However, these Peace Corps criticisms were minor compared to the perspective shown in student writings.

The Government

The far-reaching student demands for improvement of the educational

systems were not accompanied by a comprehensive evaluation of what resources might exist for this purpose. In pamphlet after pamphlet the students argued that the available resources were not effectively spent but rather were wasted for the appearance of progress. Lenten funds which "cannot be repaid by seven generations" were levied on splendid government receptions of foreign guests, on travel abroad "in the name of development but rather for leisure," on embassies, on villas for the ruling elite on their Mercedes cars and their cocktail parties. Money was expended on buildings to impress foreign visitors, and individuals stored it away in foreign banks.⁴⁸ A pamphlet documented how the government lied on radio broadcasts about the size of the budget.⁴⁹ To raise more money for the improvement of education pamphlets demanded a decrease in the salaries of ministers and of members of the various boards, a reduction in the number of embassies abroad, and an increase in taxes on imported luxury goods.⁵⁰

The intent was to question the credibility of the government and the emperor. Students sought to explain to the people that the government was not genuinely interested in expanding education, whatever it said. Ignorance made people believe that poverty was inevitable, rather than a result of the distribution of wealth and the political administration. It was therefore to the advantage of the ruling class to prevent the poor from being educated. "They fear that if too many are educated, they will know of their crimes and interfere with their advantages."⁵¹ The emperor had too late heeded Ras Kassa's advice. "To hell, don't teach these children of the poor or else they will sit on your head." Students saw the educational objective of Haile Selassie's regime to be the training of a few clerks, "chairmen" and technicians, while the students demanded the right for every Ethiopian to be educated.⁵² A recurrent pamphlet theme was that the government ruled Ethiopia as a joint-stock company of the ruling class to obtain the largest possible profits for the shareholders, disregarding the interest of the Ethiopian population. The pamphlets abounded in remarks about injustice, about the prevailing inequality of opportunities. The children of the rich had no difficulty obtaining education in private schools in Ethiopia or abroad. Going overseas to study was highly prestigious and eagerly sought. One can only imagine the pressure put on parents in charge of distributing the various scholarships offered by foreign countries and the Ethiopian government. Students demanded a change in the management of scholarships, which they claimed were mostly given to sons and daughters connected in some way to the ruling class.⁵³

Pamphlets attempted to expose the methods by which the ruling class kept its power, wealth, and privilege. It was explained how the news media were deliberately used to the sole advantage of the government, rather than having as their objective to "improve" the condition of the people.⁵⁴ Pamphlets tried to make people understand that there was no freedom of expression. How could

It is an offence when a citizen demanded the correction of what was wrong?⁵¹ They also refuted the government's elaborate explanations in the Amharic papers and radio of how a "foreign hand," that is, communist agents, stirred up student opposition. The expulsion of three Russians and three Czechs for "participation in the student uprising" was ridiculed in student writings,⁵² held up as an example of the weakness and short-sightedness of the government.⁵³ The students stressed that it was not they but the government which had made itself entirely dependent on a foreign hand—the United States—for its military strength, internal security, economy, and very existence.

Spying, imprisonment, and torture were other methods students claimed were widely used by those in power. The numbers of informers were said to exceed the number enrolled in the police and army. Pamphlets explained how well-educated and caring Ethiopians were not free to contribute anything to the country. Human resources were wasted because of imprisonment or death, or because people whose activities became dangerous to the ruling class were forbidden to work and were forced to spend inactive lives in remote places closely watched by the local police. Many had fled the country to escape this fate. The pamphlet reader was also informed about police oppression through the Public Safety and Welfare Order of April 3, 1969,⁵⁴ which made possible the imprisonment of individuals for up to six months without court trial if there were "reasonable grounds to believe that the maintenance of public order, safety or welfare so require."⁵⁵ In the outpouring of clandestine writings the government was ridiculed, taunted, and left with no honor. It was called "inflated...corrupt...oppressive, reactionary, fascist...a bunch of bloodsuckers...hungry hyenas...a cripple," and "a corpse" which the people were called upon "to bury." Its methods were those of Hitler and its objectives not different from Ian Smith's, that is, entrenching minority rule.⁵⁶ The ministers and vice-ministers, who were educated at the expense of the poor, had betrayed their cause, excusing their behavior by invoking the emperor's orders.

Hail Selassie

Student treatment of the emperor in the pamphlets of 1969 will be presented against a background of earlier attitudes. There seems no reason to doubt that most students of the 1950s admired the emperor's personality and had great faith and confidence in his leadership. In 1951 in an Ethiopian student publication in Great Britain, an editorial headed Hail Selassie,

Our beloved Emperor has given, as always, an enlightened lead. His Imperial Majesty is vigorously encouraging young men of talent for national songs, literature, painting and crafts, without discriminating whatsoever. He is creating a welfare State with due attention and equal attention for everybody. He has given before the people much. Sometimes he is despised except of his people's wants.⁵⁷

Echoes of this high esteem are present in reports about Haile Selassie's Long visits to the students in Addis Ababa, when fruit from his orchards was distributed, or about the College Days and other annual contests when he himself conferred the prizes.⁶² His keen interest in education has made us what we are.⁶³ Imperial gifts such as funds for union elections, a Mercedes-Benz bus for UCAA, and the donation of his palace for a university campus produced appropriate remarks.⁶⁴ Considerable enthusiasm was expressed about the emperor's initiative in the 1963 African Summit Conference.⁶⁵

After 1962, however, Haile Selassie's visits to the colleges became less frequent, and the attention he gave to the students seems to have decreased sharply. In 1962 he did not come to the College Day.⁶⁶ Advancing age and his expanding workload may partly account for this, but more probably it was his perception of a change in student attitudes. Their growing concern about affairs in Ethiopia necessarily reflected on Haile Selassie, even if negative comments about him were conspicuously lacking in the 1960 coup as well as in student writings until the late 1960s. Lack of free expression was an obvious reason, but his position and personality did in fact inspire awe. Bahru Zewde's comment in 1964 to the effect that the average Ethiopian university student still regarded the emperor "with respect and even admiration"⁶⁷ probably cannot be disputed. The conception was widespread that somehow the emperor was not responsible and not to be blamed for the adverse conditions in Ethiopia. His intentions were good, but bad ministers and administrators failed to carry them out. Yet, Bahru's comment also implies that there were those who blamed the emperor even if they had confined their critical comments to private conversations, or disguised them in a general criticism of the regime—until 1969.

In the outpouring of pamphlets in 1969 there was still reluctance to attack Haile Selassie personally, with some dramatic exceptions. A couple of pamphlets were detailed commentaries on the emperor's speeches, and his description of conditions in Ethiopia was judged to amount to "does your eye and let me cheat you."⁶⁸ He was accused of lying and was ridiculed for the endless claims about good intentions and good deeds, the former presented as if they had already been realized. Concerning the emperor's explanation that the police and army had intervened to maintain peace and security for the people, the pamphlet asked whether in his opinion the people were the privileged few.⁶⁹ There were scatological passages about Haile Selassie's claim to be an elect of God and his alleged aspirations to divinity. One pamphlet had several grotesque descriptions of the persons Haile Selassie used as agents in his administration.⁷⁰ Melesse Ghebre was like a "bloodsucking scorpion,"⁷¹ a "huge snake that swallows and never gets satisfied," when it came to extending his landholdings and amassing wealth. Sahlu Defaye,⁷² noted "to the end of the world" for the "terror and disaster" of his rule in Nazareth and Arsi, had been instrumental in forming the Mecha Ormo Self-Help Association,⁷³ founded for the development

of Oromo areas in 1967 but accused of being a political party. The ban on this association and the arrest of its leader, General Tassew Birru, was held up as a setback for the Oromo.

Also denounced was the bestowal of wealth and office on collaborators of the Italian administration, while the patriots were poorly rewarded. The emperor's own departure from Ethiopia was described as a "flight" to a "luxurious sanctuary" in England to which he had brought Ethiopian gold worth \$100 million. His famous speech in the League of Nations was not touched upon. Haile Selassie according to the pamphlet, worked hard to obtain a place in history. A grotesque description was given of the prime minister and his French wife trying to obtain the Nobel Peace Prize for him. The emperor's policy of linking suitable people in marriage was characterized as designed to secure the right network of relationships to strengthen his own position.⁷⁴

Although the emperor said he sought to create unity everyone knew that every method was employed to sow division among people and prevent them from uniting to say common cause. Haile Selassie was held up as the master of a "divide and rule" policy, a fact stressed in a pamphlet intended to tarnish and discredit the image of the emperor in the eyes of the delegates to the OAU meeting in Addis Ababa in spring 1969.⁷⁵ The tract, "Haile Selassie's Pseudo Façade: A Threat to the African Revolution," was pushed under the doors of the delegates rooms in the Hilton Hotel. It described the general conditions of the Ethiopian people, the lack of health and educational facilities, and the grossly inequitable distribution of land and wealth. It explained what the "divide rule" of the "intriguer Haile Selassie" implied: no political parties, no mechanism through which the people's needs and aspirations could be expressed, a nominal parliament which could not legislate without the emperor's consent and whose upper house was personally appointed by Haile Selassie, and a prime minister who was also an Imperial appointee. Opponents were "ruthlessly persecuted," the "loyal" military and police forces were mobilized against peasant uprisings, and torture was an integral part of the system of "mixed justice." Most of the pamphlet's six pages were however, devoted to exposition of the emperor's reliance on U.S. imperialism for his regime's internal stability. Haile Selassie, the OAU champion, welcomed U.S. bases and neocolonial penetration and thus represented a threat to a "genuine African Revolution."

Contempt was expressed for a ruler who told any citizen inquiring into the affairs of his community—whether a member of parliament or a student—"it does not concern you" and who discarded and condemned the ideas of the young generation, referring to them as "half-baked." They retorted "Of course only people who can find solutions."⁷⁶ Thus, remarks about Haile Selassie were no longer impersonal oblique in general references to the "aristocracy," "ruling class," "regime," or "government." They had become direct, personal blunt, rude, and defamatory. The people of Ethiopia had to see that the

only people who can find solutions.⁷⁷ Thus, remarks about Haile Selassie were no longer impersonal oblique in general references to the "aristocracy," "ruling class," "regime," or "government." They had become direct, personal blunt, rude, and defamatory. The people of Ethiopia had to see that the

emperor was responsible, that he was the leader of "the hyenas" in the land and he himself supported "suppression and injustice."⁷⁷ Student criticism of Haile Selassie included his claim to divine right to rule, his autocratic attitudes which allowed no opinions to be voiced by his subjects, and his preoccupation with reinforcing his own position.

Appeals to the People

The clandestine student writings reached out to the population in a direct, personal way imploring them to read carefully, listen to, and understand what the students tried to explain. They were addressed to "Dear Ethiopians," "Our Fathers and Our Mothers, Our Sisters and Our Brothers," or to specific groups such as workers, coolies, traders, tenants, farmers, and soldiers.⁷⁸ The Amharic pamphlets were rather different from those in English, which more often than not were abstract, theoretical, and somewhat arrogant, intended for students and the highly educated. A simple, down to earth use of Amharic attempted to persuade the reader to see the existing conditions for the vast majority of the population and their causes. The following is a paraphrased example of the appeal to the common priest:

Dear Priests, your church is said to own one third of the land in this country, but your salary is only \$20 a year. The bishops, high priests and abbots are eating the wealth—~~are~~ driving the Mercedes cars. Our rulers have allowed missionaries, representatives of imperialism, into our country. Catholicism and protestantism are expanding and our Orthodox religion and culture are being destroyed. All your knowledge of *Kinner* and *Zemz* of which we were so proud, is useless now.⁷⁹

The specific grievances and worries of each group were held up to raise their level of consciousness and to direct their anger against the ruling class. The tenant farmer's work for the landlord was described in detail, and how debts, taxes, or eviction might drive him to leave a starving family behind and go to the town to become a coolie.

Coolie, listen—you have been robbed of your land and your money has been handed over to the rulers. In the streets of the town, you have become a breeder of lice and bugs and disease. They don't think that you are a human being. There is no degradation worse than poverty.

The trader was advised that the ruler discouraged Ethiopians in business and rather encouraged Arabs, Greeks, and Armenians.

Student pamphlets also appealed directly to the soldier.⁸⁰ It was carefully explained how land had become private property concentrated in a few hands and what the social consequences of this were for the people. The soldier was

called upon to consider his own conditions and those of his family and relatives compared to the resources and opportunities of his officers. One pamphlet tried to define the soldier's identity and loyalty. He was of the people, not different from his numerous civil relatives, yet he had unwittingly become an enemy of his own people. "Please, wake up, say that you serve the people and don't say that you serve only one man!" References were made to the bravery of the Ethiopian soldier against the country's enemies. The armed forces were encouraged to consider the domestic enemy: "The Ethiopian nation does not have an enemy greater than this reactionary and feudal government." Various examples of how meanly the government treated the soldiers were quoted. Had they forgotten the embezzlement of the money from the United Nations for the soldiers who had fought in Korea? The soldiers were encouraged to draw inspiration from the "sacred attempt" of December 1960, that is, the coup tried by some in the Body Guard. The armed forces were asked to "liberate" the people from their government. "You are the doctors and medicine of the people."

Appraisal

The clandestine student writings of 1969 began with complaints about education accompanied by criticism of virtually all aspects of Ethiopia's social, economic, judicial, and political system. These were intended for the public, but the same was true of the numerous student publications within the university. The purpose was to raise the level of political consciousness in the population at large, in the student body of the university, and in the secondary and even the primary schools. The pamphlets were therefore extensive in their explanations, simple and direct in language, and written mostly in Amharic in order to reach more people. Their intent was not so much to demand reform, although they did, but to shake the government's very foundation, undermine its legitimacy, and ultimately overthrow it. The armed forces were called upon to assist in the process.

It must be stressed again that it is not possible to estimate precisely the extent to which the views, attitudes, and intentions delineated here were supported by the students. A pamphlet had to be written by only a handful of people, the whereabouts of the duplicating machine had to be known to as few as possible. Also, it was not always stated who was behind the various pamphlets--this has to be assumed from the context--and certainly some handouts circulating in 1969 did not come from student quarters. Others, individuals or groups, who sought the downfall of the government added fuel to the fire. The pamphlets were not approved in student general assemblies, nor were they necessarily written by elected union officers; there were activists who purposely avoided holding office. On the whole, it can safely be said that the views

expressed about conditions in Ethiopia and the evils of the ruling establishment were commonly accepted. The differences lay in the degree of determination to weaken the government, and since not every student activist felt the time was ready to call upon the army to overthrow the regime, the radicalism of the pamphlets varied.

Did the student pamphlets give a true picture of Ethiopia? A government spokesman or a disinterested observer would have been able to document considerable achievements on the part of the regime, but student propagandists found no reason to point to any positive contributions. To them, and for their purpose, the bleak, disheartening picture of Ethiopian reality was the only valid one. Their pamphlets were one-sided and exaggerated, especially in terms of the alleged achievements of other African countries compared to Ethiopia. On the whole, however, and judging from a number of research-based works, it would not be difficult to support the contention that student criticism was well founded and reflected a true picture of the social, economic, and political situation.⁶¹

The student stand was overwhelmingly negative as opposed to a positive exposition of what future administrative and governing institutions should be. They did not refer to another possible leader by name or to any group they thought better fitted to take the right decisions, except that the armed forces were called upon to "liberate" the people. The only persons referred to as sources of inspiration were the Neway brothers of the 1960 coup, particularly Germaine. Indeed, when Mrs. Rose Kennedy came to dedicate the John F. Kennedy University Library in July 1969, a pamphlet circulated that said it more appropriately should be called Germaine Library, after

the first Ethiopian to have conducted a theoretical analysis of the Ethiopian society... and on the basis of this analysis to have emerged with a conclusion that for both Ethiopia and Africa at large a radical restructuring of traditional institutions has to take place so that the development of our people would truly be achieved.⁶²

The regime was consistently referred to as "reactionary" and "feudal." In Amharic the latter referred to as *babbarmer, babbar getoch, or babbarbawit mengist* (feudal government).⁶³ The masses of landless wretched tenants were often referred to as "serfs" or "slaves."⁶⁴ The use of *feudal* was substantiated by repeated references to the problems of land tenure, and it is true to say that a complete restructuring of property relationships in land was at the core of student agitation after 1965.

Implementation of land reform was not much dwelt upon in the pamphlets, except for frequent statements to the effect that resources had to be justly shared. "The true and honest benefit is communal. Individualistic benefit is theft and robbery. What we wish to see is justice grow green in the country."⁶⁵ The word socialism was avoided in appeals to the population, but was used in

student publications in English, where the core of Etoopis's life was seen to be in the "broad framework of socialism—the ideology of the oppressed and de-humanized."⁴⁴ Certainly, the student activists looked forward to a revolutionary transformation of society.⁴⁵ The language of socialism was present also in frequent references to "exploited masses" and to "class." The Amharic pamphlets attempted to create class consciousness and to raise class antagonisms across ethnic and religious divisions.⁴⁶ A class was seen as a section of the population tied by similar economic, social, and political conditions. The students were mostly concerned with two classes in Ethiopia, landlords and peasants.⁴⁷ Oppression and oppugnance were found within most ethnic groups, partly reflecting the fact that the majority of students were Amhars and Tigras, the ruling ethnic groups.

In 1969 extensive publishing took place within the university owing to the November 1968 deal between the students and the government, this had put aside the new legislation on student affairs⁴⁸ and had returned the mimeographing equipment to the group. Because of confusion as to who was responsible for student publications—in fact, the president of the university had himself to take the responsibility⁴⁹—student expression was not curtailed. The Sociology Students' Association published three numbers of *Voice of SOSSA*,⁵⁰ the Political Science Students' Association published one number of *Political Science Review*,⁵¹ and *The Torch* was published by the Education Students' Association. *Frontier* was a Marxist Abov student publication,⁵² *Tikchop* (Renewal) a Theological College Student Association publication,⁵³ and *Sircle* was published by the Business Students' Association.⁵⁴ The Law Students' Association published one issue of *The Balance and the Sword*,⁵⁵ and the union paper *Struggle* had three numbers. The message was uniformly one of dissatisfaction with the regime and for immediate change.

The student writings spurred the Ethiopian government's resort to stern measures toward the end of 1969. The content of this writing leaves no doubt about student hatred of the imperial regime and the willingness of activists to go to great lengths to bring about its downfall. The students had established themselves as enemies of the existing order. If they got their way, rich people in authority would lose both their wealth and authority.

Note

1. Amharic editorial, *Struggle* 4, 12, 1968 14
2. AZ Yekes 6, 1961 (1421960) "Years from Adwa to the millennium year," *Righteousness Month* 941 (May 1969) 13-24
3. Amharic pamphlet 1969, No. 1
4. Amharic pamphlet 1969, No. 4, p. 2
5. Amharic pamphlet 1969, No. 2

6. "Termoli in the Provincial Educational System," *Struggle* 3 No. 1, undated, 1969:3.
- Amharic pamphlet 1969 No. 1, No. 6, No. 9.
7. *Third Five-Year Development Plan (1968-1973)* 387
8. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 9, No. 10, No. 1, No. 4, No. 3, No. 6. The untenable nature of this situation was pointed out in the first issue of the *Journal of Education*, published by the Faculty of Education. Mulugeta Wodajo, "The State of Educational Finance in Ethiopia: A Short Survey," 1967 11-26.
9. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 1, No. 9
10. Adams Wolde Hana, "Student Union and the School Director," 1970 36-43
11. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 6.
12. SPUR, undated (1969).
13. Amharic pamphlet 1969, No. 1.
14. (ibid. No. 9).
15. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 1
16. Resolutions of the 6th Congress of NUEUS, March 1967 13-14.
17. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 9, No. 4, No. 3.
18. Chalberg and Smith 1967 14, 113
19. *Third Five-Year Development Plan (1968-1973)*:290, 291.
20. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 9, No. 4
21. *Struggle* 31.10.1967:4, "A Letter to Edward Gibson" by Berhane Melekel Reda; and *Struggle* 2.1.1968:4, "On Revolution in Religion" by Yohannes Berhane.
22. *Business Outlook* 15.1.1968:6.
23. Tibebe Shiferaw, "The Social and Political Influence of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church," 1969 2; Yohannes Berhane, "On Revolution in Religion."
24. *Struggle* 3, No. 1 (1969):7, "Caged by the Church" by Adams Goba Michael.
25. Tibebe Shiferaw, "Social and Political Influence," 1969
26. *Struggle* 27.3.1968:14-17
27. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 4.
28. Resolutions of the 6th Congress of NUEUS, March 1967:6, № 7 21.3.1968 13 "Will they face it in Unity?" by Alemayehu Seifu (recommended that the land possessed by the church be "greatly curtailed").
29. Ibid.; *Struggle* 27.3.1968 14-17; *Struggle* 26.10.1969:7, "Interview with a Socialist"; *Frontier*, undated (1969):6.
30. Alemayehu Seifu, "Will they face it in Unity?"
31. Berhane Melekel Reda, "Letter to Edward Gibson"; Yohannes Berhane, "On Revolution in Religion."
32. USJAA election speeches, 17.3.1971 6.12.1971 (personal notes).
33. *Frontier*, undated (1969), published by the Humanistic African Students' Association.
34. *Struggle* 3.4.1967 12, "Rechristianizing Christians?" by Germa Goba Sehunje; and Berhane Melekel Reda, "Letter to Edward Gibson."
35. Educational, Religious Implications of US Missionaries, and Works Geberysahu, "The University and Our Educational Program," *Frontier*, undated (1968/69).
36. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 21.
37. Pamphlet, "U.S. Foreign Policy and Peace Corps," undated.
38. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 1, No. 4, No. 9.
39. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 3, No. 4.
40. Editorial in Amharic, *Struggle* 4.12.1968 14.
41. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 9, No. 4.
42. № 4 F 23.4.1966 10, "Opportunity-Threat," by Giorgis Sayoun; and № 8 16.1.1964, Debating Proposition: "It is disadvantageous to have Peace Corps Volunteers in

Ethiopia."

13. Editorial, *The Pioneer*, 5-6 29-5 1965
14. *N & V* 30.4 1966:17, "In Defence of the Peace Corps" by Muflin Wolde Mariam.
15. *Africa Research Bulletin* 1970 1659 (20.1.1970); Amharic pamphlets 1969 No. 23.
16. *B & S* 23.12 1968 13-16, "The Peace Corps: A Dream Betrayed" by Getachew Shewa. Getachew quotes various PCVs' views and resolutions.
17. Preamble to Peace Corps X's Resolution decided upon at Lugano July 7-9, 1969.
18. Amharic pamphlets 1969, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.
19. Ibid., No. 4.
20. Ibid., No. 1, No. 2
21. Ibid., No. 9.
22. Ibid., No. 4. Tafari Makonnen was the name of Haile Selassie before he became emperor.
23. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 1, No. 5. Student pamphlets state the number of scholarships distributed each year to be 3,000. This is so grossly exaggerated that one may presume it is a printing mistake. It seems reasonable to estimate the number of students going abroad each year to be around 300. *Third Five-Year Development Plan (1968-1973)*:302, Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Abstract 1964*:150: 1971-201.
24. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 9, No. 10.
25. Ibid., Nos. 3, 12, 14, 10. SPUR pamphlet in English, undated; *Gebre Gebre Wold*, "Tribalism as a Feudal Tactic of Domination and Rule," *Struggle* 3, No. 1, undated (1969).
26. AZ Negashit 5, 1961 (14.3.1961).
27. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 10.
28. Amharic pamphlets 1969 No. 10, No. 5, No. 8.
29. "Public Safety and Welfare Order," Order No. 56 of 1969; *Negashit Gazette*, 5.4.1969; Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 5, No. 5.
30. Ibid., Nos. 4, 5, 10, 12.
31. *Das Oub* 1, No. 2, 7.1.1951.
32. *UC Calls* 16.3.1957, *UCAA NL* 16.4 1959; *N & V* 8.4 1960. Editorial, Those Enlivening Visits. *N & V* 30.3 1961; *UCAA NL* 26.3.1959; *N & V* 2.5.1961 and 10.6.1960.
33. Editorial, Those Enlivening Visits, *N & V* 30.3.1961.
34. Editorial, *N & V* 19.3 1960; *N & V* 30.11.1961, Editorial, *N & V* 14.12.1961.
35. *N & V* 24.5 1963 and 31.5 1963.
36. *N & V* 14.6.1962.
37. Bahru Zewdu, "Some Thoughts on Student Movements with Special Reference to Ethiopia," 1968.
38. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 3.
39. Ibid. No. 4.
40. Ibid. No. 5.
41. Ras Mesfin Sileshi had been governor general of Illubabor and Kaffa and Minister of Interior. At this time he was governor general of Sheba. He was believed to have succeeded in building up the largest landholdings in the country. He owned large estates in Illubabor, Kaffa, Hararge, and Sheba and was regarded as a difficult landlord by his thousands of tenants (Gillies, 975 Sl.119).
42. Sahlu Dafayé had been *awraja* governor in Nazareth and governor general of Arsiid.
43. The Mecha Oromo Self-Help Association was founded in 1967 and claimed 300,000 members. General Tadesse Birru's speeches demanded schools and teachers for Oromo areas. The association was dissolved by the government in 1968 and any similar

- organization among the Oromo was forbidden on the ground that it encouraged tribalism (Gilles 1975 225-26).
- 74 Amharic pamphlet 1969, No. 4, No. 3
- 75 SPLR, "Haile Selassie's Feudal Faction, A Threat To the African Revolution," undated, 1969; Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 14, chiefly deals with U.S. imperialism in Ethiopia.
- 76 Amharic pamphlet 1969, No. 4, No. 3.
77. Ibid., No. 4, No. 3, No. 12.
78. Ibid., Nos. 9, 12, 14, 16, 24.
- 79 Amharic pamphlet 1969, No. 12. Amur and reme are the poetry and the music of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and require many years of study.
80. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 13, No. 24
- 81 Gilles 1973, Markakis 1974, Bondonau 1975, Hess 1970; Ethiopian scholarly contributions in *Dialogue and Ethiopian Journal of Education*, and the student B.A. discussions.
- 82 English pamphlet, "Germany or Kennedy" undated, 1969.
83. No discussion of whether it is justified to use the term *feudal* about the Ethiopian society will be entered upon here. Some scholars on Ethiopian affairs do use this term. Gilles 1973, Bondonau 1975, Markakis 1974. Goro Zilli has discussed this point in "The Feudal Paradigm as a Hindrance to Understanding Ethiopia," 1976. Gebru Gebre Wold, "Tribalism as a Foul Trick of Divide and Rule," *Strugazir* 3, No. 1, undated (1969).
- 85 Amharic pamphlet 1969, No. 24, No. 3.
- 86 Editorial, Land and Tenancy in Ethiopia, *Voice of Sostr* 11 .2 1969.
- 87 "The Future of Our Struggle," pamphlet in English, undated, 1969
- 88 Amharic pamphlet 1969, No. 12, No. 16, No. 24.
- 89 "Report from a discussion on tribalism" and Tesfaye Kidane, "Class and the State in Ethiopia," *Political Science Review* 1, No. 1, 6.1 1969 2-6 and 6-8.
- 90 Teahome Wogzo, "Report on Student Support," 1969 43, 44.
- 91 Copy of letter from S. Puswung to the President, December 1969, undated, concerning the Sociology Students Association Publication.
- 92 Vol. 1, No. 1, 11 .2.1968, Vol. 1, No. 2, 11.1969, Vol. 1, No. 3, 11 .2.1969.
- 93 Vol. 1, No. 1, 11.1.1969.
- 94 Undated.
- 95 December 1969
- 96 Vol. 1, No. 1, 12..2.1969.
- 97 25.11.1969

5:2 Challenges and Responses

Student initiatives during the first months of 1969 have been identified as criticism and resentment voiced in general assemblies, in student publications within the university, and in illegal pamphlets, and as the determination to demonstrate and strike on issues connected with education. This chapter will show that other activity was mostly a response to government reaction, which enabled activists to enlist extensive support for further disruptions and disobedience. Before the last few months of 1969, government response went through three phases. First, it gave advice and warnings and mobilized groups of elders, priests, self-help associations, and parent committees to express indignation over the deplorable and irresponsible behavior of students.¹ Second, when this strategy did not bring the desired results, the authorities resorted to repression, ranging from police beatings to mass arrests and court sentences. Third, when students were undeterred but rather were stimulated to stage further strikes and disruptions, the government, seeing its authority shaken, resorted to reconciliation. At first it responded episodically, but when faced with new moves which threatened to paralyze the university as well as secondary education all over Ethiopia, its response amounted to a conspicuous surrender to student demands to get students out of prison and back into the university.

Attempts at Persuasion

Aware of the impending student demonstration and strike in February 1969 (see the previous chapter), the Ministry of Education warned the students, on the radio and in newspapers,² and tried to arrange a meeting between a committee of elders and the students.³ The latter refused because they asserted the

purpose was to admonish them, not hear their views. During this phase the government vehemently denounced student opposition as the immoral actions of a few, unsuccessful in their studies, who had been poisoned by foreign influences and had become servants of foreign evil. The rest were only inexperienced youths who wanted to interfere in matters about which they had little understanding. The students' behavior was seen as completely alien to the Ethiopian culture and harmful to the country's unity. They were children whose past misdeeds had received too lenient a partial punishment.⁴ In the Ethiopian context, the accusation of being led astray by foreign influences was obvious. The government's expulsion of six Russian and Czech diplomats in March 1969, allegedly for their involvement in student agitation,⁵ lent credibility to this persistent charge. At this time the government arranged huge patriotic demonstrations, aimed specifically at Syria, which had supplied the Eritrean rebels with arms, but generally against foreign interference and foreign-inspired attacks on Ethiopia.⁶

To prevent a student strike the government closed the university and all secondary schools on March 3, 1969, for an indefinite period.⁷ Early the same morning large forces of armed, regular army and bodyguard troops took up positions in the city. The bodyguard moved into the university and evicted students—quite a few of whom were still in bed, and within a short time occupied the university.⁸ The same happened in secondary schools. Government media justified these actions by referring to the violation of law and order and the damage to property which had accompanied previous student demonstrations.⁹

Hundreds of evicted students then attempted to march to the center of the city. Waving no placards they sang slogans: "Ye, the brave! Fight on until the tiller gets the land" and "Down with the oppressive government."¹⁰ For a week the students were harassed those who were not accommodated in prison roamed the streets hungry and tired. Police and soldiers were everywhere to prevent attacks on large hotels, certain embassies, and the United States Information Agency. Tension mounted and reached a peak when a group of secondary school students poured red paint on the emperor's statue on Haile Selassie Avenue.¹¹ Pressure came from the university teachers to release imprisoned students and to open the university. The government was then faced with the difficult task of getting the students back. The emperor spoke on the radio, commanding the university and schools to open the following week,¹² but there was nothing new in his approach. He reprimanded students for their illegal actions and disregard for the correct procedure always at their disposal a petition to the emperor.¹³ Agitation was again identified as the work of a handful duped by foreign elements who intended to disrupt public security and the country's unity. They had neither sufficient knowledge nor experience to generalize about difficult social, political, and economic matters and should

refrain from "wild accusations" and "irresponsible" criticism. He implied that education was given out of the government's mercy and generosity and could be withheld if the recipients showed ingratitude or were otherwise deemed unworthy.¹⁴

The emperor's order was not obeyed. It was challenged in pamphlets "Are we cattle since they drive us out when they wish and drive us in when they wish?"¹⁵ The militants attracted a sufficient following to prevent the university and schools from reopening.¹⁶ The fact that a number of students were not released from prisons and were expelled or suspended from the university gave the activists good cause to continue the strike. Their persistent demand was that all students be reinstated.

The following facts reveal the extent of disruption within the university. The campuses were virtually occupied by security forces placed there to stop activists who attempted to persuade students not to attend classes or who, by various means, tried to prevent teaching from taking place.¹⁷ The police presence, whether necessary or not, aggravated the widespread tension.¹⁸ During March and April the university had to organize three re-registration procedures, in which students who wished to attend classes were given new identity cards,¹⁹ to prevent still striking students from eating and sleeping at the university. Time and again lecturers were told to be stringent with attendance lists, an unpleasant task which often met with student anger and protest or omission on the part of some lecturers.²⁰ In fact, very few students attended classes, either because they wanted to strike or because of threats and pressure from activists, who operated in groups to disrupt teaching.²¹ Those who avoided class were considered by the administration to have withdrawn for the rest of the academic year.²² Withdrawal from the university, intended by the administration as a punishment, instead became a positive and conspicuous method of protest. As the difficulty in getting students back to classes increased, various deadlines were set after which students would not be allowed to reregister, but these were extended over and over again.

Repressive Measures

Student agitation reached new heights during early April. Security forces entered Arat Kilo campus and arrested several. One student, Demeqe Zerda, died after a fall from a police truck on the way to Sendafa.²³ Although accidental, his death in police custody was the only significant fact for the students. The following day a symbolic funeral demonstration was held for Demeqe, and an empty coffin was carried through the streets. Security forces intervened, chasing and arresting students by the hundreds.²⁴ The administration suspended all classes, and resumption was not attempted until three weeks later. Once again very few students attended despite security forces on the campuses,

activists attempted to prevent teaching.²³ The university then was put under curfew.²⁴

Attempted demonstrations were stopped by armed police wearing protective masks and using tear gas. Encounters were brutal, and students were indiscriminately beaten. Many were harshly interrogated, and some were tortured in an attempt to locate the publication groups and the copying machine.²⁵ In the provinces, students were flogged in an effort to find out who was responsible for the pamphlets.²⁶ In March and April several hundred students were arrested and sent to Jendafa. Before the departure of one of the police trucks from the university the MSTU president pleaded with the students either to go back to their classes or to leave the campus quietly in order to escape imprisonment. The students stubbornly remained on the truck.²⁷

A report about Jendafa by a law student who spent six nights there gives a vivid impression of the kind of punishment the students received.²⁸ They were driven out at 3 a.m. the first day, told to prostrate themselves, and commanded to move forward on their stomachs while being beaten with sticks by policemen standing in two lines on either side of the crawling students. Then they were thrown into a pond where they were forced to stay for about two minutes in cold, stinking water up to their necks. Another ten minutes were spent lying down in muddy ground, and finally they were ordered back to their quarters, shivering with cold in their soaked and dirty clothes. Food was kept to the barest minimum, and they had to sleep on a rough stone floor without blankets. In following days students were made to do field exercises of a more tolerable kind, accompanied by less beating than on the first morning. By the end of the week most had been set free.

The following month saw a repetition of these events, although the detention period was shorter. About a thousand university students were arrested and punished during March and April, and by the middle of April there were still thirteen students in detention, all of whom were taken to court.²⁹ Five were sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment for writing and distributing pamphlets abusing constitutional authority and for stirring up "acts of violence and disturbances." They had been "tools of foreign agents against the interests of the nation." The five were Walelyn Makossa, Getachew Shewa, Fantahun Tewash, Ayslow Aking, and Gezegn Makossa. Seven students were expelled and 42 suspended indefinitely from the Faculty of Arts by the board of governors.³⁰ The expelled students were Berhane Merel Reddo, Zewu Kishro, Gebru Gabra Weld, Yohanna Sebeta, Teffayet Kidant, Meftah Habtu, and Meftah Kasse.

None of these punitive measures obtained the desired effects, rather the opposite. Around 2,300 students withdrew from the university in spring 1969, more than two-thirds of the total.³¹ In virtually all faculties and colleges except Building, Public Health, and Medicine programs were seriously disrupted. The

university was in the grip of forces over which its administration and staff had no control. It had become a battlefield in the struggle between students and government, both ready to sacrifice the institution for their own ends. The activists were admittedly more ready to do so than the government, for whom the university was a symbol of its own success. The administration was not consulted about the entry of security forces onto the campus or about the wild and wanton arrests which took place there.³⁴ Students were expelled on the orders of the government acting through the board of governors.³⁵ Against all odds the administration and staff were frantically trying to keep the university going, and they were concerned about the waste of resources, since the vast majority of students would fail to obtain credit for a semester's work.³⁶ The university appealed to the board of governors to reconsider the suspension of students who had failed to register, as well as the cases of those who were expelled or suspended for other reasons.³⁷ It cautiously asked that established legal procedures be followed in the handling of students but was in no position otherwise to assert itself. The very existence of the university seemed at stake.

President Aklilu Habte took office only a couple of weeks before the crisis started.³⁸ He was the first Ethiopian president to be appointed from the staff and could not be reproached as Kassa had been for being an "Imperial Appointee." In the following years he was nevertheless identified as one who showed an unfortunate unwillingness to talk to students or staff and as one who readily ran errands for the government,³⁹ few in the same position could have escaped the latter accusation.

Two attempts to save the semester for the striking students were extraordinary and demonstrated sympathy for their cause. Some faculty members suggested that off-campus classes be held for those who could not attend at the university, "in faculty homes, rented houses, open fields, etc."⁴⁰ and that credit from these be transferred to the university the following term.⁴¹ The result of this unrealistic proposal was the expulsion from Ethiopia of three Peace Corps staff members.⁴²

The Alumni Association requested that the Faculty Council let all boycotting students be admitted to the university. Representatives of the association felt confident that the students would return to classes if a general clemency for imprisoned and expelled students was granted.⁴³ The answer was no. It was agreed unanimously at a meeting of the executive committee of the Faculty Council and the deans that neither the staff nor the students now attending lectures were prepared to accept new arrangements if "determined boycotters" were readmitted. The majority of the staff felt that earlier decisions should not be constantly reversed.⁴⁴

Conciliatory Efforts

Subsequent events show that no amnesty might have been reached at this point if the student had approached the government. A week earlier, escalation in student agitation and refusal to attend classes had brought about the closure of nine secondary schools in the capital.⁴⁴ In the ensuing street turmoil, Tedle Mogen, a schoolboy fleeing from the police, had fallen into a ditch and died.⁴⁵ An Ethiopian professor, commenting upon the events of 1969 said: "Student upheaval weakened the government so much that you could ask whether there was a government at all. Authority was completely shaken."⁴⁶ Imperial advice, pleading, command, and repression had failed to restore normalcy, and it was becoming urgent for the government to obtain détente.

Before the end of March attempts had been made by the government toward reconciliation. The emperor gave two audiences, one to representatives of the secondary schools student councils⁴⁷ and one to students from various professional university associations,⁴⁸ who acted in the absence of expelled or arrested USUAA officials. They had approached a number of important persons in order to obtain the release and reinstatement of fellow students but were invariably referred to the only possible avenue of approach, a petition to the emperor, a method the students were very reluctant to use.⁴⁹ Evidently, both groups swallowed their pride, asked for pardon, and presented petitions to the emperor. Especially in the meeting with the secondary school students there was a lot of parental concern and advice, and remarkably the more innocuous of the demands concerning education were touched upon in the emperor's speech. This attitude contrasted sharply with his usual lament over bad behavior, although Haile Selassie believed that some had distorted and exaggerated the problems for "inflator purposes" and that students were "unintelligibly being used by third parties." The outcome of the audience was that school registration fees were to be voluntary, and a review of the nation's educational curriculum and examinations was promised.⁵⁰

A few days later, when the university students were received by the emperor, they asked for a pardon for all the arrested, expelled, and suspended students so they could return to their classes. A careful statement about freedom of expression was included. "In our sincere and earnest desire to express our ideas, which have their origin in Your Imperial Majesty's historic utterances from time to time on the problems of our nation, we may have been wrong in our approaches." After a lengthy exposition of his role as a promoter of education and of his address over the prolonged interruption of classes, Haile Selassie concluded. "We can only guide correct and lead students for they are as much our own sons and daughters against whom we cannot even entertain severe measures."⁵¹

The board of governors was told to review its decisions on all the expelled

and suspended students. The outcome was the release of almost all the imprisoned secondary and university students and the readmission of a large number of them.⁵³ Secondary school students were inclined to go back to classes but were stopped by plan from the university students to support their demand for complete normalization and the turmoil and disruptions continued. The government announced establishment of the National Commission for Education through which parents, teachers, and students could make their suggestions heard.⁵⁴ This conciliatory effort remained a decision on paper only. The name of this commission tended to turn up in connection with student uprisings during the following years.

Before the opening of academic 1969-1970, 685 students attended the orientation program prior to leaving on their Ethiopian University Service (EUS) year. The lecture provided the first opportunity in more than six months for students to meet, and the assembly immediately started to discuss the release and readmission of all students. The university and government were presented with seven demands.⁵⁵ Unless these were met the students would refuse to do their service, which would mean a serious shortage of teachers for the secondary schools in the provinces. All detained, expelled, and suspended high school and university students were to return to their studies and, together with the students who had withdrawn, were to be able to graduate on time. The security of EUS participants should be guaranteed and there should be no undue interference by noneducational authorities in school matters. These demands referred to the previous year when EUS students had become, in connection with student demonstrations and boycotts, the target of the wrath of local authorities. There were also demands about student participation in the PLTS Orientation Program as well as to the EUS central committee, and finally about the student unions, associations, and publications, which were to continue to function directly under the president's office and not under the Faculty Council legislation.

Surrender seemed the only way out for the government. In a radio broadcast, the emperor pardoned university and other students who had been sentenced to imprisonment or suspended or expelled from school for their participation in the March/April agitation and strike.⁵⁶ The Minister of Education, Akele Work Habte Wold, was replaced by Sefia Mekonnen Selassie before the opening of the new school year, again no obvious concession to the previous year's student demands.⁵⁷

LSUAA and NUEUS then joined the EUS participants in further demands.⁵⁸ The administration, with extra funds made available from the government, not only consented to the immediate readmission of all students but also presented a plan showing how they could graduate in the normal time.⁵⁹ Concerning the "security" in the provinces, it was clear to everyone that EUS teachers had distributed pamphlets from Addis Ababa to their students and also had supported

local activities which were beyond the duties expected of them. The university stated that EUS participants were citizens who had to abide by national law,⁵⁹ but a joint university-Ministry of Education committee was established to settle conflicts between EUS students and local officials. Subsequent events showed that students never made use of this committee.⁶⁰

Thus, academic 1969-1970 opened on terms laid down by the students, and the final approval for class attendance and for EUS participants to go to their places of assignment came from student representatives and not from the university.⁶¹

The USUAA Election and Tilahun Gizaw

"With the feeling of triumph and a sense of having endured the worst of ordeals with the government," a new academic year began.⁶² Tilahun Gizaw, a third-year political science student who had run unsuccessfully for the USUAA presidency the previous year, won the 1969 election. The year before he had lost very narrowly to Makonnen Bishaw, a contest perceived by some as a struggle between radicalism and commitment to the Ethiopian cause, as represented by Tilahun, and reactionary reformism, as represented by Makonnen.⁶³ Others had seen it as a fight between reason and moderation, on the one hand, and extremism or even fanaticism, on the other.⁶⁴ Events, however, again had proved that the truly dedicated got their way in student politics, no matter what the political inclinations of the USUAA officers. The two layers of leadership, the visible and the invisible, which had emerged in 1968 also functioned in 1969. The relentless determination of the ideologically committed and the profound sympathy for the cause they championed forced the general student mass to follow.

The boycott and withdrawal decisions in the general assemblies in March had been supported by an almost unanimous student body, a large number of whom were afraid to show opposition when voting, but far fewer were prepared to act in accord with the decision they had taken under pushed by the radicals.⁶⁵ Any person who tried to forward moderate candidates or views was shouted down, ridiculed, and termed a government or CIA agent. The authoritarianism of the radicals frightened many, but they lacked the tools of resistance and readiness to fight for their convictions. The weapons of the activists were their organization, discipline, and unity of purpose. Many were well read, and for them Marxist ideology was a revolution which created order out of chaos, giving meaning and significance to the circumstances of contemporary Ethiopia. They had found the right interpretation of history and the right approach to action and therefore had to be obeyed. "If you support and obey blindly, you identify yourself with the masses, whatever that means,"⁶⁶ was the acid comment from an impotent opposition.

Those who had not withdrawn from the university in the spring were branded "tribotzars"⁶⁷ and subjected to psychological and even physical attack by some of their radical colleagues.⁶⁸ When the activists were trying desperately to enlist support outside the university, they could not afford to lose support within. The following statement indicates how they thought this could be prevented: "We had better integrate them into the general student body by vigorously disciplining them. If they will stage a strike, then we shall have to declare a *venerita*."⁶⁹ It was evident that a serious division existed between those who attended classes the previous year and the vast majority who did not. The university president characterized the attitude and behavior of some activists as an "outrage to the very spirit of a University community."⁷⁰ Considering that the Marxist activists dictated terms to both the government and the university, it is not surprising they easily won the USJAA election.

Tilakus Gaze's father was a comparatively rich landowner who had divorced Tilakus's mother, thus estranging the son and father.⁷¹ Tilakus attended boarding schools, the Alala Adventist School, the Swedish Mission HV School, and the Malu Bellaha Secondary School, the last two in the capital. On several occasions he told friends that he had little emotional attachment to his family and did not know what family life was. His half-sister was Princess Sera Gaze, the widow of King Leopold I's son, the late Duke of Hamm. She often invited Tilakus to visit, but he seldom went. He expressed a strong dislike for the royal house and personal bitterness toward his own family.

Friends described Tilakus as courageous, cerebral, reserved, and modest. He was hard working, very well read, and greatly interested in learning. In his high school days he had read and admired Marxism and Maoism, and in his election speeches of 1968 and 1969 he quoted a great deal from Marx, Lenin, Mao, and Che Guevara. His association with the Crocodiles Society was fairly recent, and more so he finally sided with them because he wanted their support in the election rather than out of admiration for their ideas. He was ambitious; he did not conceal the fact that he wanted to become a leader and that he chose political alliance for this reason. He was very disappointed by the 1966 loss and withdrew from the university explaining his decision in a written statement, "Addressed to the Conscience of the Student Body."⁷² He said he wanted to distance himself from the university in order to be able to reorient the student movement and study its "cynematic nature." Seemingly it was revolutionary, but there was some question as to whether that was so true since Tilakus felt that reactionary forces were strong in the movement, exemplified by tactics used against him in the campaign. Tilakus and others concluded the fact that he was a type-had been employed to raise doubts and suspicion about his connection with reactionary forces in Entebbe. He identified himself as a socialist who interpreted his society in terms of antagonistic classes and not different tribes.⁷³

Subsequent events make his comments on the strategy to be employed by the student movement particularly interesting. His goal was not to demonstrate but rather to consolidate the "Home Front." Many more study groups and open debates were needed in order to bring about greater unity and understanding within the student body and to raise its level of consciousness. Nevertheless, he became very close to the activists during the troubled spring of 1969.⁷⁴ Upon his return to the university, it was particularly noticed that Tilahun had expanded his reading of revolutionary literature and had also grown in knowledge and understanding of Ethiopian conditions.

It was generally believed that Tilahun had distributed land which he had inherited to his family's tenants, or did not collect rent from his tenants, or demanded only the minimum from them.⁷⁵ Whatever the truth, the gossip indicates something about the kind of leader the students wanted. Tilahun Gizaw appeared to have a number of qualities which could have made him a dangerous opponent of the Ethiopian regime—intelligence, knowledge, and appeal; he was well known and liked by students. He had convictions and a will for power, and he was known as someone who would not retreat when the time for action came. He was also a mature man in his late twenties. The security branch, which followed closely everything that happened in the student world, rightfully considered Tilahun a threat. It was also significant that he had important family connections which inspired confidence in and gave him easier access to people who could be useful to him.⁷⁶

Growing Radicalism

It became evident during autumn 1969 that the student movement was headed for confrontation with the government despite the latter's surrender to student demands. One pamphlet claimed: "Revolutionary compatriots, for every demand that the fascist dictatorship unwillingly meets, we shall create ever more demands from the inexhaustable pool of grievances of the Ethiopian people."⁷⁷ Pamphlets continued to come out in the name of USLAA or were written by independent student groups. *Struggle* had two large issues not restricted by any Faculty Council regulation. All of the publications seemed equally blunt in their criticism and rejection of the government. One pamphlet discussed the fighting against the government in the province of Bale and the justifications for it.⁷⁸ Another, signed by USLAA, praised Takele Wolde Hawariat, the patriot who had fought against the Italian occupation and who had recently been killed by security forces after an attempt on the emperor's life.⁷⁹

Contrary to the pamphlets in the spring, which had been carefully formulated, students now consistently identified their movement as revolutionary.⁸⁰ Pamphlets mentioned the Revolutionary Ethiopian National Movement,⁸¹

Employing formal cooperation and solidarity among students, the peasant unions, and groups opposing the government. Certainly, this was wishful thinking. A *Struggle* editorial asserted that the revolutionary student movement had reached a stage where it could mobilize "the actual and potential revolutionary forces in Ethiopia."⁴² Optimism about the state of ferment and the capacity of the student movement to stimulate revolution was great. "We stand on the threshold of success."⁴³ The spring crisis was openly referred to as a "dress rehearsal,"⁴⁴ and extensive quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao, Fazal, and Che Guevara left no doubt as to the ideological inspiration of the movement.⁴⁵ The angry spring handout which had elicited the naming of the John F. Kennedy University Library and had suggested Germany instead⁴⁶ was supplemented by a new one which declared it should be named the Lenin Library.⁴⁷ The tone of the writings had a frantic quality of exaggeration and urgency. The activists portrayed the students as the leaders of the revolution and the "anguard" of the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Punning no weapons, the students called for an armed struggle for liberation.

The rhetoric of violence was prevalent in student discourse. Those who had been away for their service year in 1968-1969 found a profound change of mood upon return. In one group notably a student named executive manager on violence from Fazal's *The Imperialist of the East*,⁴⁸ a work dealing with deliverance from colonialism, which inspired Ethiopian students because they identified the circumstances of the Ethiopian masses with those of people living under colonial masters.⁴⁹ Even if the Ethiopian masters were indigenous, there was the cultural supremacy of the Amhara-Tigray ethnic groups, as well as the political and economic supremacy of the Amhara and the *babbaroos*.⁵⁰ Fazal believed that a social revolution could not be brought about without the cleansing experience of violence to restore self-respect to the oppressed.⁵¹ The pattern of events in 1969 suggests strong student affinity to Fazal's thoughts on the necessity of provoking violence in order to overthrow a political system. Some activists deliberately invited the punishment of the government with the intention of strengthening unity and creating such chaotic and outrageous circumstances that other groups of the population would rise in rebellion and eventually bring down the government. True, the students did not resort to assassination as had their counterparts in Tsatsu Ruma, they challenged in writing, which they knew might be enough to provoke the use of force, especially in view of the government's recent humiliating retreat.

Two incidents undoubtedly contributed to government apprehension about students' intentions. These took place within a few weeks after Tuluhan Guzai had been elected president of USUAA and were challenging manifestations of the power the union seemed to believe it had. New waves of unrest in provincial secondary schools had created conflict between the EUS teachers and local authorities, and USUAA submitted two written ultimatums to the Ministry of

Interior threatening that all FTS students would be withdrawn unless certain conditions were met within ten days. The USUAA general assembly also passed a resolution to the effect that the Alumni Association should hand over to USUAA, within ten days, its coffee shop on the Sidist Kilo campus which the students used, "so as to do away with local imperialism."⁹² The Alumni Association, inviting USUAA executives to a meeting, explained that the proceeds, around E\$12,000 per year, were spent on running summer courses for students who failed the ESLC examination.⁹³

The explanation was ignored on the grounds that the alumni had "traded the real issue," that is, the profit drawn from poor students' pockets. The notice to the student body announcing the take-over of the coffee shop by "the special force of USUAA" quoted from the alumni letter without mentioning how the monies were spent.⁹⁴ USUAA wanted students to run their own shop and use the proceeds from the newly renamed "The People's Bar" for their union. The university was alarmed at the "illegal seizure" of alumni property as well as the illegal occupation of a university building.⁹⁵ USUAA considered it wrong for an association to use the university building for profit-making and stated that the take-over was to "equalize the unfair situation." USUAA was re-inforcing, not violating, the rights of the university community.⁹⁶ According to the student president, the disagreement between the students and the association was more of a stock battle than a real one.⁹⁷ The association sent a letter of strong warning to the university not to use the incident as a pretext for attacking the student movement, knowing that the government was looking for just such an opportunity.

The ultimate defiance of the government was reached with the 35-page insert of *Struggle* which appeared in November 1969. Not only did the paper, in its English as well as Amharic editorials, write about the necessity of revolutionary war against the regime on the part of the oppressed masses, but also it challenged the policy of never acknowledging Ethiopia's ethnic diversity in an attempt to create a nation through Amharization.⁹⁸ The article "On the Question of Nationalism in Ethiopia" by Wallalige Makonnen was the straw that broke the government's patience with the student movement. The article, which will be analyzed in the following chapter, argued that Ethiopia was not yet a nation. It was made up of a dozen nationalities, and the nationalism advanced by the ruling class was "fake," as it was the imposition of the Amhara-Tigray culture. The article was also considered by many educated people to constitute encouragement for the break-up of the Ethiopian empire. This, together with the fact that armed struggle was advocated as necessary for revolutionary change, repelled many of the educated, university lecturers included, who had otherwise sympathized with the student cause. Indeed, the feeling was rise that ideology had become more important to the students than the survival of Ethiopia as a state.⁹⁹ The government felt so encouraged by this reaction that its press could

afford to quote extensively from Walleigne's article in order to attack it,¹⁰⁰ which had not been done before with regard to student writings. *Struggle* was suspended by the board of governors on the grounds that the article was believed to be against the laws and constitution of the country, and because the content of *Struggle* could not be considered a free expression of students' viewpoints but rather a political leaflet advocating the overthrow of a legitimate government by the use of force.¹⁰¹ The article presented an opportunity for the government to launch a major attack on the student movement in the radio and newspapers in December 1969.

The Government Response

The newspaper campaign indicated clearly that the government's patience was running out and that the public was being prepared for whatever steps it intended to take. The scorn and derision heaped upon the students were unprecedented, even if the primary target was "the fanatic few and the erring...the ring-leaders of radical irresponsibility...the marionettes...paid...[and] manipulated" by foreign power.¹⁰² The movement was mainly attacked for being led by communists who wanted to break up the unity of Ethiopia, destroy all religious and cultural traditions, and bring about chaos in order to overthrow the government.¹⁰³ The strictly censored newspapers attacked activists for denying freedom of expression to the majority and for using knives and pistols to impose their ideology on other students.¹⁰⁴ To show how "narrow-minded...irrational...[and] ungrateful" students were, Addis Zemen quoted from Walleigne's article on the question of nationalities:¹⁰⁵

The newspaper accused students of betraying their country to the same way as Judas had betrayed Christ,¹⁰⁶ and it found their expressions of love and concern for Ethiopia entirely false. The public was reminded of how the student agitation a few months earlier had resulted in chaos and loss of lives and property all over the country, as well as preventing thousands of students from attending school.¹⁰⁷ There were obvious and ominous threats expressed concerning possible actions by the government, whose "limitless patience and pardon" had been "interpreted as weakness."¹⁰⁸ Newspapers generally wrote that the state would be "forced to take action" to protect the interests of the Ethiopian people¹⁰⁹ and because of the anger of parents and the community.¹¹⁰ The intentions of the students had to be quelled in the same way as a snake had to be killed while young. The suspension of *Struggle* was hailed as a step in the right direction, a step which had to "be followed to its logical conclusion."¹¹¹

In his memorandum to the university community in early December, the HSIU president also conveyed the general feeling of imminent government punishment. He asserted there was still "time to prevent tragedy from hap-

giving" if the university community could only sort out its own problems; otherwise, it would be "dealt with by other authorities."¹¹² Students came to believe that a turning point had been reached, and "a further qualitative change" in the methods of struggle had to be effected.¹¹³ Although pamphlets still expressed dedication to the overthrow of Ethiopia's "non-viable system," they stressed the long and difficult path ahead rather than an immediate confrontation. Revolutionary phrasology was limited to illegal and sporadic *Struggle* handouts and was nonexistent in the Amharic pamphlet distributed to refute government accusations against the movement. The relationship between the government and the students was compared to that between the hyena drinking from the river downstream from the sheep. The hyena said, "You are polluting the water I am drinking," to which the sheep answered, "Dear hyena, eat me without creating unnecessary reasons."¹¹⁴ The feeling was strong that the government's radio and press campaign was deliberately aimed at provoking the students to demonstrate so that firm action could be taken.

Tension rose and countless rumors circulated.¹¹⁵ One was that the government had made a list of 28 students to be arrested and perhaps shot if they continued their activities. Others concerned warnings and threats made to the USUAA president. The USUAA congress and general assembly discussed whether to demonstrate. All members of the congress except one voted against,¹¹⁶ but there were still students who wanted to continue the challenge. Tidahom Gaze warned the student body not to walk into the government trap and spoke strongly in favor of caution.¹¹⁷ Analyzing the position of the movement, Tidahom said that students could not overthrow the government unless they could present an alternative.¹¹⁸ When it came to strategy, he voiced the same opinions about internal consolidation as he had in the *Struggle* interview at the beginning of the year. Students who were close to him say that he urged USUAA to work for consensus with the other potential opposition groups in Ethiopia.

Thus a cautious line of nonconfrontation was widely accepted and no attempts to demonstrate were made, although there were efforts to circumvent the ban on meeting in order to convince people of the students' good intentions.¹¹⁹ "To demonstrate our love for Ethiopia and consideration for what is good for the people a sacrifice does not frighten us. To be dumped criminals does not frighten us. Even Christ was condemned a criminal by the state and sentenced to death."¹²⁰

The Death of Tidahom Gaze

On Sunday evening December 16 1969, Tidahom Gaze was shot by two unknown men near the university campus at Sidist Kilo. He was taken to the HSI Hospital, where he died. Over the protests of doctors and nurses, his body

was taken to the university by students and kept there overnight.¹²¹ When secondary school students heard of the murder, they flocked to the Saint Kilo campus.¹²² Tilahun's family, particularly his half-sister Princess Sare, requested custody of the body which the students refused, since they wanted to organize and attend the funeral. The two parties negotiated without results. At about 11:30 a.m. December 29, the police surrounded the campus and sealed off the estimated 6,000 students there.¹²³ Inside, the students chanted and challenged the authorities, and at around 1:00 p.m. the Imperial Bodyguard entered the campus without having consulted with or informed the university administration. Negotiations stalled, and bodyguard officers agreed to let students escort the coffin to the family's house. As they lined up for the procession, a deadlock arose over whether the coffin should be carried in front of or among the students. At this point, the soldiers attacked with guns and bayonets.

According to official statements, shots from the Faculty of Arts building caused the incident.¹²⁴ According to one of the reports prepared by staff members of the Faculty of Arts, no eyewitnesses ever verified this point.

The soldiers drove the students into the main building and the annex of the campus, where they beat them and assaulted them with batons, gas-bombs and bayonets. The buildings were searched for students, and there was aimed and unaimed shooting both in the Arts Faculty building and outside. The soldiers searched also the dormitories of the students. In the Arts building two students were shot dead, according to eyewitnesses, deliberately, and by accident. Outside the building, a third student was killed. At least thirty students were admitted to various hospitals; about 15-20 were detained in the hospitals. The nature of the shooting is further demonstrated by the fact that one staff member was shot in both legs while standing in the Arts Faculty Staff Lounge, where no students were at that time. At least one other staff member was injured, though not seriously.¹²⁵

The three university students who died were Abebe Birhe, Sibhatu Wubneh, and Germai Yessi.¹²⁶ It was not made known how many secondary school students were killed, but concerned and informed people estimated that their number was much greater.¹²⁷ A student pamphlet claimed 23 dead and more than 157 seriously wounded.¹²⁸

Whatever investigations may have been conducted concerning Tilahun's death, no results were ever published. Students immediately accused the government of the murder, and the view that it had been committed by the security police was commonly accepted in following years. The government press claimed that quarrels and rivalry between the students themselves had been the cause,¹²⁹ but it also commented: "There was no lack of people who thought that committing a crime against him would arouse the whole student population."¹³⁰ Indeed, most students, failing to overthrow the regime would have liked to provoke a student uprising to forward their plans. It is also possible that student activists who favored violence and who wanted to provoke new

confrontations with the government might believe the sacrifice of Tilahun would spark and ignite the revolutionary fire they thought existed. We cannot know for certain how cautious Tilahun's strategy had become compared to the views of this group or their degree of impatience with him.¹³¹ Students, however, would never accept this as an explanation. The morning after his death, many had the presence of mind to make use of the circumstances for a massive display of desperate hatred toward the government. Placards were in evidence, and a photograph of Tilahun's naked, dead body was passed among the students.¹³² Some became uncontrollably abusive in their language toward the police and the bodyguard.

The atmosphere at the university was extremely tense and uncertain. The board of governors suspended all educational activities,¹³³ and most students believed the university would be closed, at least temporarily. The administration's reaction to the police and bodyguard intervention was painstakingly cautious. The staff members' report of the events was itself a protest.¹³⁴ The question was raised about disregard for the university's autonomy and the need for guarantees that in the future no armed forces would enter the grounds without first consulting the president. A Faculty Council resolution repeated this point in a detailed statement but made no demands.¹³⁵ It did call for a "full investigation followed by prosecution of those responsible for the unnecessary use of violence." It condemned "shooting by anyone on campus, and incidents of indiscriminate and unrestrained shooting, bayoneting, and brutality by members of the bodyguard." The resolution condemned the students ("shooting by anyone, placards and speeches") as well as the brutality which took place but failed to indicate any connection between the government and these acts. Needless to say, the Faculty Council avoided any open criticism of the authorities in their handling of student affairs. The staff report of events wrote of student opposition to the "conditions prevailing in the country and the Government's response to it." The quality of the opposition was explained in a couple of sentences, but no words were offered to characterize the response.

In reply to the Faculty Council resolution, the board of governors was adamant in its defense of the actions taken to "foretell the threat to public security."¹³⁶ It went on to state that unless "the University takes the appropriate measures to... respect the law of the nation, to disavow violence and expose the futile political agitation, the authorities who are entrusted to uphold the constitution and the laws of the nation, will have no choice but to perform their sacred duty."

A majority of the Faculty of Arts staff expressed dissatisfaction with this reply and also stated its lack of confidence in the Faculty Council until it clarified its stand on its own resolution. Some of the Ethiopian staff was considered to be involved in student affairs, and indeed some had been student

leaders just a few years earlier. In April one staff member had been arrested, and the books and papers of another had been confiscated by the police.¹³⁷ After the December events the president openly expressed suspicion toward sections of the staff for involvement in student agitation.¹³⁸

The frustration many staff members felt concerning the cautious attitude of the university was exemplified in the message distributed by an American, Dean L. X. Terpay.¹³⁹ In his opinion, he armed troops had murdered, beaten, and stabbed "without just cause." His conscience demanded that such "barbaric crimes against humanity" be openly condemned, and he attacked those staff members who shared his belief but chose to be silent. "These are the same type of individuals who sat quietly by while Hitler and his gang murdered some six million Jews." He referred to his contract with ETHU, which said a lecturer's position must not be used to promote political or religious views. "This clause is not designed to repress free speech or to make us moral snuffs." Dean Terpay was ordered to leave Ethiopia within 24 hours and was declared an "undesirable alien" by the Ministry of Interior.¹⁴⁰ Another conspicuous protest was the resignation of the Peace Corps director in Ethiopia, Joseph Murphy, who characterized the regime as a "repulsive dictatorship which cannot establish a social Order with better answers to its problems than shooting and beating young people."¹⁴¹

In 1969 the board of governors emerged as a prime force in decision making within the university. The former president, Kassa, had rarely convened meetings of the board and during crises decisions had usually been taken by the prime minister and Kassa.¹⁴² President Aklilu stated his belief in a closer cooperation with the board of governors and convened meetings regularly.¹⁴³ As student protest dramatically increased, government interference in university affairs proved inevitable. When the Faculty Council's Student Affairs Committee appealed to legislation and resigned in 1968, the board was drawn directly into decisions concerning disciplinary measures.¹⁴⁴ After the December crisis, the Council of Ministers wanted to close the university and reopen it the next academic year after a purge of staff and students. The teachers' contracts made this difficult, and the board favored an immediate opening.¹⁴⁵ Some Ethiopian staff would have liked to see the president resign after December,¹⁴⁶ but they knew the human costs involved. In presidential communications to the university community upon reopening, the word violence with reference to the student body was used to such an extent that the communication failed to distinguish between students' words and their actions, and it disregarded the role of the armed forces as the prime cause of violence.¹⁴⁷

The Aftermath

The university opened at the end of January 1970 with student unions,

associations, and publications banned until relevant new legislation could be promulgated. Four students were still in prison.¹⁴⁸ The number of university guards was increased, and their training was improved. Dr Aklilu stated the government had agreed to give written assurances that security forces would not enter the grounds unless permitted to do so by the president.¹⁴⁹ Over the next few weeks, students gradually returned, and the atmosphere was unpleasant and uncertain. The inevitable question of boycotting classes to protest the conditions under which the university opened was very much present. Students were not allowed to assemble, and guards dispersed gatherings. Some students attempted to disrupt teaching and enforce a boycott.

Two pamphlets, one a resolution of the ELS participants, condemned the government for the "pre-planned" assassination of Tilahun and the subsequent student massacre "to preserve its degenerated and shaky machinery."¹⁵⁰ The pamphlets appealed to students to follow a USUAA congress resolution which called upon them to withdraw from classes and the EUS participants to boycott their services beginning February 8 unless a number of demands were met. These included a proper investigation of Tilahun's murder and court trials of his assassin as well as those responsible for the deaths and violence the following day. Other demands were better hospital conditions for the wounded students, release of those imprisoned, and immediate repeal of the order legalizing incarceration for up to six months without trial. All attempts to enforce a boycott failed, and about a hundred withdrew from the university, among them the most politically active. Approximately twenty left the country, and a small group walked to the Sudan. The reasons for the withdrawals were mixed—protest against the December tragedy, fear of arrest, contempt for the university, and a refusal to succumb to the system.¹⁵¹

Notes

1. AZ Negabn 5 & 7, 1961 (14 & 16.3 1961); EH 15.1. 969.
2. AZ Yekatit 24, 1961 (3.3 1969).
3. AZ Yekatit 25, 1961 (4.3.1969).
4. AZ Yekatit 24 & 25, 1961 (March 3 & 4, 1969)
5. EH 14.1.1969.
6. EH 25.2 1969.
7. AZ Yekatit 25, 1961 (4.3.1969).
8. "News from Addis on the Education Crisis," *Tiglachan Meleka* 1961.
9. AZ Yekatit 25, 1961 (4.3.1969).
10. "News from Addis on the Education Crisis". *Obelisk 25.11.1969*, "A Seven-Day Detention at Jendale" by Getachew Berhe
11. Girma Tesfome, "Role of Student Movements in Pressure Groups," 1973:62
12. EH 8.3.1969 and 14.3.1969
13. "Emperor Orders University Schools to Open," EH 8.3 1969.
14. In the application which students had to sign before they rejoined the university in

March 1969 it was stated that His Imperial Majesty as a result of "numerous petitions" by students had "granted permission" to "allow" students to resume their education. Application to Rangoon Madrasah I University, undated.

15. Ambarik pamphlet 1969 No. 4
16. EH 14.3 1969; EH 30.3 1969; HSU Minutes of the Joint Executive and Deans' Meeting, 17.4.1969
17. Memo from the President to Students, the Staff and the University Community 14.3 1969
18. Minutes of the Joint Executive Committee and Deans' Council, 3.4 1969
19. HSU, Minutes of Deans and Executive Committee with Alumni Association, 30.4 1969.
20. Notice to All Faculty Members, Faculty of Arts, from S. Rubensz, Subject: Remaining Student Body, undated.
21. Memo to the Student Body from the President 23.3.1969
22. Memo to All the Student Body, Staff and the University Community from the President 23.3 1969
23. Memo to the University Community from President Akhil Habte 3.4 1969
24. Africa Research Bulletin 1969 1.61. Reportedly about one thousand students were arrested April 3 and 4
25. Memo to the University Community from Akhil Habte, President, 23.4 1969
26. Memo to the University Community from the President 24.4 1969
27. Comm. Teacher, "Role of Student Movements as Precious Creeps," 1973 10
28. LC 33, 2.2 1971
29. AZ Negabat 17, 1961 (5.4.1969); EH 5.4.1969
30. Colten Berke, "A Seven-Day Detention at Seidenfuß"
31. HSU Minutes of the Joint Executive and Deans' Meeting 17.4 1969
32. AZ Maha 23. 1961 EH 30.4 1969 Memo to All Heads of Departments, Faculty of Arts, from S. Rubensz, Dean., 8.3 1969
33. Memo from the President to the University Community 24.4 1969 To the University Community from the Associate Academic Vice-President, 17.9 1969, HSU Bulletin 30.8 1969 HSU Review Events & Activities 13.6 1970
34. Memo to the University Community from President Akhil Habte, 3.4 1969
35. Memos to All Heads of Departments, Faculty of Arts, from S. Rubensz, Dean, Faculty of Arts, 18.3.1969 and 23.3.1969.
36. Memo from the President to the Student Body, Staff and the University Community, 23.3 1969. To All Faculty Members and students of the Faculty of Arts from S. Rubensz, Dean, Faculty of Arts, 1.4 1969 To All Deans and Members of the Faculty Council from Akhil Habte, President 15.4.1969
37. Minutes of Meeting of Faculty Council 14.4.1969.
38. Letter to the University Community from Krem Wohle March 14.3 1969
39. LC 99, 20.5 1973; LC 101, 27.5.1973; LC 94 1.5.1973.
40. Notice about a general strike meeting to be held 21.3 1969, Headlined "Off Campus Classes."
41. LC 64, 10.2 1973
42. Minutes of Deans and Executive Committee with Alumni Association, 30.4 1969
43. Minutes of the Faculty and Deans Meeting 1.3 1973
44. Africa Research Bulletin 1969 (2.61)
45. AZ Maha 16, 1969 (29.4.1969).
46. LC 94, 1.5.1973
47. AZ Negabat 17, 1961 (26.3 1969); EH 26.3.1969

48. AZ Megabit 21, 1961 (30.3.1969), EH 30.3.1969
49. Notice in Amharic distributed to the student body from a committee of representatives of the various professional associations, Megabit 21, 1961
50. "Fifteen Years of Ethiopian Education," EH 30.3.1969
51. EH 30.3.1969
52. In the Faculty of Arts, 21 of the 42 students then suspended were allowed to continue on "strict disciplinary probation." To All Heads of Departments, Faculty of Arts, from S. Rubenson, Dean, 34.4.1969. A few days later five more students were reinstated (ibid., 7.4.1969).
53. EH 23.4.1969
54. Struggle 26.10.1969 Memo to the University Community from the Associate Academic Vice-President 17.9.1969, Memo from the President to the University Community 26.9.1969
55. EH 10.9.1969
56. "Emperor Pardons Students." Addis Reporter 19.9.1969:12. The editor of the new magazine *Addis Reporter* was fined \$100 for the blunt presentation of this fact. *Addis Reporter* was stopped the same year, as it was too critical (LC 32, 30.1.1971).
57. Notice to the Student Body from USUAA, NULS and Ad Hoc Committee of EUS Participants, 29.9.1969.
58. Ibid., Memo from the President to the University Community, 26.9.1969
59. Memo to the University Community from the Associate Academic Vice-Presidents, 17.9.1969
60. Memo from the President, Aklilu Habte, to the University Community. Review of the Current Student Situation at HSU, 8.12.1969
61. Notice to the Student Body, 29.9.1969
62. Memo from the President to the University Community 4.12.1969. Cerna Teshome, "Role of Student Movements in Pressure Groups," 1973:63
63. Struggle 1, No. 1, undated (1969)
64. B & S 23.12.1968:11, "Your Epitaph" by Yonai Kebde
65. Amharic notice distributed to the student body from a committee of the representatives from the various professional associations, Megabit 21, 1961 (30.3.1969). Yonai Kebde, "Your Epitaph."
66. Voice of Serts 11, 2, 1969:1, "Reaction in the Campus: Why?" by Tefta Tadevos.
67. Memo from the President, 8.12.1969.
68. Tefta Tadevos, "Reaction in the Campus: Why?"
69. Memo from the President, 8.12.1969
70. A friend and university classmate of Tilahun told me about him, LC 90, 23.2.1973. In numerous other conversations he was mentioned and commended upon.
71. Interview with Tilahun Gessaw, Struggle 3, No. 1, undated (1967):14.
72. Chapter 5 I give further details about Tilahun Gessaw's views on the Eritrean question.
73. LC 90, 23.2.1973. The fact that Tilahun's name, as far as had withdrawn, was on one of the lists of students who had been indefinitely suspended from the university by the Board of Governors shows his involvement with the activists. Notice to All Heads of Departments, Faculty of Arts, from S. Rubenson, Dean 23.3.1969
74. LC 33, 22.7.71
75. LC 64, 10.2.1972, LC 82.9.6.1972
76. Pamphlet, "The Future of Our Struggle," undated, autumn 1969
77. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 20. The uprising in Bale is analysed in a D.A. thesis in History of May 1971 Abreag Kebde, "The Rebellion in Bale 1969 (1970)." Pamphlet, "The Ethiopian Youth Movement: the Death of Tseleste Woldie Hawariat, the

- True Son of Ethiopia," undated. Takele died on November 16, 1969. Another History B.A. thesis of June 1971 is "The Life and Career of Dağlasmach Takele Wolde Hawariat," by Tesfaye Ababa.
90. Editorial, Purge of Feudal Legacy, *Struggle* 17.11.1969
 91. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 20
 92. Editorial, Purge of Feudal Legacy
 93. Editorial, The Heroic Past and the Challenge Ahead, *B & S* 25.11.1969; pamphlet, "The Future of Our Struggle."
 94. *Voice of SOSIA* 11.12.1969: 3
 95. *Struggle* 17.11.1969: 7, 9.
 96. Pamphlet, "Germann Or Kennedy?" undated, 1969
 97. Pamphlet, "The Final Indignity," undated, 1969.
 98. LC 94. 1.5.1973.
 99. LC 33. 2.2.1971.
 100. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 20.
 101. Pason 1969 74, 56.
 102. Memo from the President to the University Community 8.12.1969; Notice to the Student Body, signed The Congress of USUAA 24.11.1969.
 103. Letter from the President of the Alumni Association to the President of the USUAA, 18.11.1969.
 104. Notice to the Student Body, 24.11.1969.
 105. Memo to the University Community from the President, 24.11.1969.
 106. Notice to the Student Body from the Executive Committee of USUAA, 25.11.1969
 107. LC 75. 29.5.1972.
 108. Editorial, Purge of Feudal Legacy, and Amharic editorial, It is the Obligation of Oppressed and Plundered People to Protest by Taking up Arms, p. 20, and Wellegne Maksootu, "On the Question of Nationalities in Ethiopia," pp. 4-7, *Struggle* 17.11.1969.
 109. LC 94. 1.5.1973.
 110. Editorial, If One Sheep is Lost the 99 Will Not Be Forgotten, *AZ Tahrir* 1.1962 (11.12.1969).
 111. Memo from the President to the University Community 8.12.1969. The letter suspending *Struggle* is quoted in. Notice to the Student Body from the Editorial Board of *Struggle* 9.12.1969.
 112. Editorial, Academic Freedom, *EN* 13.12.1969
 113. Ibid.; Editorial, That is going too far, *AZ Hitler* 19.1962 (29.11.1969).
 114. Ibid.; "We Want development," *AZ Tahrir* 1.1962 (11.12.1969).
 115. Editorial, Do not let the ERD do its instead, *AZ Tahrir* 1.1962 (11.12.1969).
 116. "Judas Also Betrayed Pretending," *AZ Tahrir* 1.1962 (11.12.1969).
 117. Editorial, That is Going Too Far.
 118. "Judas Also Betrayed."
 119. Editorial, That is Going Too Far
 120. "We Want Development."
 121. *EN* 13.12.1969.
 122. Memo from the President to the University Community 8.12.1969.
 123. Pamphlet, 5.12.1969, To the Student Body from the Editorial Board of *Struggle*.
 124. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 22.
 125. Girma Tesfome, "Role of Student Movements as Pressure Groups," 1973-68.
 126. LC 37. 25.2.1971, LC 33. 2.2.1971.
 127. Dagens Nyheter, Stockholm, 30.1.1970, in S. Petersson, "Ethiopia in the Press In

- Scandinavia and West Germany, December 1969-July 1970."
- .18. LC 33. 2.1.1971.
 - .19. In "Role of Student Movements as Precursor Group," 1973:68, Girma Teshome writes that an illegal edition of *Struggle* was published on December 26. I have not been able to see this, nor have I seen or heard other references to it. He could be referring to a pamphlet.
 - .20. Amharic pamphlet 1969, No. 22
 - .21. "Events, Issues and Questions," an unofficial, occasional publication of the Faculty of Arts, HSIU, Addis Ababa, established through the decision of the meeting of the staff members of the Faculty of Arts on December 31, 1969, four pages; AZ Tahrer 21, 1962 (30.12.1969); AZ Tahrer 21, 1962 (31.12.1969).
 - .22. Resolution of the Faculty Council of HSIU, 3.1.1970.
 - .23. LC 43A, .7.1.1971.
 - .24. AZ Tahrer 21, 1962 (30.12.1969); EH 30.12.1969.
 - .25. "Events, Issues and Questions."
 - .26. AZ Tahrer 21, 1962 (30.12.1969).
 - .27. LC 45, 14.6.1971.
 - .28. Pamphlet, "Voice of Ethiopian Students," undated (January 1970).
 - .29. Editorial, AZ Tahrer 22, 1962 (31.12.1969).
 - .30. AZ Tahrer 15, 1962 (23.1.1970).
 - .31. Naturally, in subsequent years, students would rather disregard than underline such differences.
 - .32. LC 43A, 17.5.1971
 - .33. Memo from the President to the University Community, 6.1.1970.
 - .34. "Events, Issues and Questions."
 - .35. Resolution of the Faculty Council of HSIU 3.1.1970.
 - .36. Letter from the Office of the Board of Governors to the Chairman of the Faculty Council, HSIU, 21.1.1970.
 - .37. Minutes of the General Faculty Meeting of the Faculty of Arts, 21.4.1969.
 - .38. Memo to the University Community from the President, 6.1.1970.
 - .39. A Message from Dean L. X. Tarpey, 6.1.1970.
 - .40. EH 24.1.1970; the Reuters correspondent, Howard Whiteman, was also expelled for his news dispatches on the December events; EH 31.12.1969.
 - .41. *New York Post*, 17.2.1970, quoted in Reprisal in Ethiopia, printed pamphlet distributed by the Ethiopian Student Union in North America, 1970.
 - .42. LC 74, 17.4.1972.
 - .43. Memo to the University Community from the President, 30.1.1970:4.
 - .44. Memo to the University Community, p. 1.
 - .45. LC 74, 17.4.1972.
 - .46. LC 94, 15.1.1971.
 - .47. Memo to the University Community
 - .48. Memo to the University Community from the President, 9.3.1970.
 - .49. Minutes of the General Faculty Meeting of the Faculty of Arts, 26.1.1970.
 - .50. Pamphlet, "Voice of Ethiopian Students," undated (January 1970); "EUS Participants' Resolution," undated (January 1970).
 - .51. LC 35, 16.2.1971

5:3 The Question of Nationalities

It has been noted that a peak in student defiance of the government was reached with the November 1969 issue of *Struggle*.¹ The article "On the Question of Nationalities in Ethiopia," by Wallaligne Makonnen,² argued that Ethiopia was not yet a nation but an Amhara-ruled collection of a dozen nationalities "with their own languages, ways of dressing, history, social organization and territorial entity."

Is it not simply Amhara and to a certain extent Amhara-Tigre supremacy? Ask anybody what Ethiopian culture is? Ask anybody what Ethiopian language is? Ask anybody what Ethiopian music is? Ask anybody what Ethiopian religion is? Ask anybody what the national dress is? It is either Amhara or Amhara-Tigre! To be a "genuine Ethiopian" one has to speak Amharic, to listen to Amharic music, to accept the Amhara-Tigre religion, Orthodox Christianity, and to wear the Amhara-Tigre Shamma in international conferences. In some cases to be an "Ethiopian" you will even have to change your name. In short to be an Ethiopian, you will have to wear an Amhara mask (to use Fazal's expression).³

The goal had to be, the article proceeded, to build a "genuine" national state which was "democratic and egalitarian."

in which all nationalities participate equally in state affairs, it is a state where every nationality is given equal opportunity to preserve and develop its language, its music and its history. It is a state where Amharas, Tigres, Oromos, Adzes, Somalis, Wollophones, Guragis, etc. are treated equally. It is a state where no nation dominates another nation be it economically or culturally.

The article examined the various uprisings which had taken place in Ethiopia

to determine whether they could best contribute to the development of a genuine, socialist, egalitarian, nation state. The answer was negative because none of them—the 960 coup, the Tedesse flux Orume movement, the uprisings in Dabe, Gojam, and Tigray—were socialist, that is, not led by peasants and workers. They had not tried to expand their struggle to the other oppressed nationalities and had not seen the connection of their local ruling classes with the national oppression. However, the author supported all the uprisings because they had weakened the regime. The most controversial part of the article dealt with the right of nations to self-determination, going so far as to support secessionist movements on condition that they were socialist. In that case they should be ousted militarily, as the goal of a genuine egalitarian state could only be achieved "through violence through revolutionary armed struggle."

The questions raised by Wallboghe, also dealt with in the Amharic section of *Struggle*⁴ were the outcome of extensive discussions the previous year.⁵ Wallboghe presented his article at a meeting (supposed to be a USLAA orientation for brothers) some weeks before it appeared in *Struggle*. Upper division were present in large numbers, and the article was hotly debated and supported by the majority of activists. Why did the nationalities issue become so important in 1969? One may presume that the excessive criticism of the school system for neglecting Ethiopian culture and identity must have raised concerns about the actual content of that culture. In *erast* or Marxist-Leninist literature provided another obvious impetus.⁶ The national question had been discussed for a couple of years within the Ethiopian student organizations in Europe and North America, and the 17th Annual Congress of ESUNA (Ethiopian Student Union in North America) in September 1969 had culminated its deliberations on the position of regionalism in Ethiopia.⁷ Working papers were first presented there and printed in *Challenge* the following February.⁸ These were more moderate and theoretical in their approach than the article which appeared in *Struggle* in November and were markedly more cautious. They consistently for example, referred to ethnic diversity as "regionalism," whereas Wallboghe used the more controversial "nationalism." Above all, the liberative movement in Eritrea must be considered the major force which brought the issue into the open. The cause was championed in a very sympathetic and subtle way by Eritrean students at home and abroad.

The matter of nationalities was felt to be extremely sensitive because of the Eritrean Liberation Front's guerrilla warfare against the Ethiopian government and because the ethnic composition and makeups of the student body made the issue a threat to unity. The more extreme of the conflict in Eritrea forced the students to take up the topic and activism undoubtedly also saw it as a chance to challenge the government at its weakest point. As the Eritrean question became very prominent in the student movement, it is vital to consider it against a background of ethnic plurality within the country.

Ethnic Sentiment in NSU

Problems relating to ethnicity were usually kept out of student papers and formal discussions, although they were often acknowledged to exist in Ethiopia as well as within the student population. Government policy from the late 1940s stressed that all inhabitants of the country were Ethiopians, that no one should be referred to in any official context as belonging to this or that ethnic group, and that no one should be asked about ethnic origin.¹⁰ So far as the matter was touched upon, support for the government policy was voiced.¹¹ That nationalism had to be cultivated that unity was a vital necessity, and that tribal sentiments had to be suppressed and the dangers of separation avoided were ideas the students expected themselves to hold and promote.¹² "Our UGAA must serve to ... radiating the spirit of nationalism to all corners of the Empire."¹³ A common language history culture and racial origins were seen as advantages but not securities of the growth of nationalism. This could also be defined as feelings of belonging, loyalty, and emotional attachment to a state, "a supr-national consciousness."¹⁴ "Ethopiasme" was sometimes used to express an attitude which "transcends personal, tribal and regional affiliations."¹⁵

A *Souvenir* edition at the end of 1960 stated that although there was a feeling of nationalism in Ethiopia, it had not yet in the country as a whole or in the student body become stronger than "the regional and tribal impulses."¹⁶ Increasingly, there were demands that the problems of tabation be carefully studied and openly discussed.¹⁷ There is abundant evidence in student publications of ethnocentric pride in and loyalty to Ethiopia, even if toward the end of the 1960s there was a clear tendency to turn against the government's endorsed, pro-western propaganda about the country's past and present. In the study "Nationalism and Tabation among African Students" conducted in 1963,¹⁸ Ethiopians were found to be less likely than students from other countries to emphasize tribal and regional affiliation as identity attributes. Yet, about half the students were Amhara, and approximately 20-25 percent were Tigrayans whose families either still lived in the north or had settled in the south as part of the ruling and landowning class. In one of the empire's 5 percent of the students identified themselves as Latines, which indicates a nationalist spirit. Students from Muslim religious groups, having had their instruction in Arabic, were seriously impeded from reaching the university by the requirement of Amharic language proficiency. The Christian Amhara and Tigray students were overrepresented in the university compared to the proportion of their ethnic groups within the population as a whole and they make up about two-thirds of the student body. The grossly underrepresented Oromo comprised roughly 10 percent of the students.

That ethnic division existed within the university was acknowledged and deplored.¹⁹ After closure of the boarding system, students from the same

school background and language group tended to find accommodations together. A letter to *New and Views* in 1964 respectfully noted that this had led to the development of provincial languages and customs and that "tribal languages" such as Tigrinya, Orominya, and Guraginya were increasingly spoken on the campus.¹⁹ The lack of objection to Amharization revealed in this comment was probably quite common, especially among Amhara students, before the level of consciousness about the ethnic issue prevented such comments from appearing in student papers. The strength of ethnic/regional ties within the university may be illustrated by the fact that at the end of the 1960s almost half the dormitory rooms were occupied by students on the basis of ethnic connections.²⁰

The most obvious distinction at this stage of ethnic consciousness was between Amhara and Tigre students. The latter were held to keep to themselves and speak their own language more conspicuously than other non-Amhara ethnic groups. Oromo students stated there was no antagonism between themselves and Amhara students such as existed between Amhara and Tigreans, who were said to be arrogant and to feel superior.²¹ Many undoubtedly were proud of the ancient glory of Axum, and especially those from Eritrea had been longer exposed to modern educational, economic, and political influences than other ethnic groups in Ethiopia. Tigrinya had been developed over a longer period for modern usage than Amharic, yet it was reported as an official language by order of the central government when Eritrea became an Ethiopian province in 1962.²² The Tigreans also represented an important source of trained personnel for the Ethiopian government services.²³

Modern education had pressured Oromo students to conform to Amhara culture. They had often been discouraged from speaking their own language, even outside the classroom when within the school compound. To adopt Amharic names was quite common,²⁴ although around 1970 Oromo students began to take back their original names.²⁵ Even if the relationship between Amhara and Oromo was not as tense as that between Tigre and Amhara in the university, that is not to say the Oromo lacked ethnic consciousness. Ample evidence suggests this was developing spurred by the activities and fate of the Oromo Mecha Tuluu Self Help Association. It raised funds and worked for the development of Oromo areas and was supported by well-known Oromo military men and other educated persons.²⁶ It started to collect Oromo stories, songs, and dances and even to use the Oromo language in meetings. In late 1966 the association was banned and its officials arrested. In a trial in June 1968, two were condemned to death, later commuted by the emperor to life imprisonment, for "subversive activities against the state and for disseminating false propaganda in an effort to divide the Ethiopian people."²⁷

After 1970 there were persistent rumors that a university was being planned for Wellega.²⁸ Oromos in Addis Ababa allegedly contributed money to what was called an Oromo university. A university librarian told me enthusiastically

that he had been a blueprint for this an variety written by Kesse Wolde Niadam, the former MSL president, who became governor of his home province of Wellega in 1969. His transfer to the Ministry of Agriculture was seen as proof of the government's wish to stop the plan. Yet, beginning in autumn 1972, Radio Voice of the Gospel was allowed to broadcast in the Oromo language, which shown that pressure the government could not afford to ignore totally was coming from the Oromo population.

In early 1972 the Wingate School, a prestigious boarding secondary school in Addis Ababa, was disrupted for months by Oromo students who complained that formerly they often had been elected prefects by the staff but this was no longer the case.¹⁹ They saw a conscious policy to exclude minority groups from being prefects and to reduce the number of Oromo students in Wingate altogether. They felt the staff especially favored northerners, that is, Tigreans. Another sign of rising Oromo consciousness was the distribution of occasional pamphlets in Oromanya amid the flood of illegal student leaflets in 1969.²⁰ At the yearly great church gathering in Qubbi in January 1972, where the emperor was present, a pamphlet was distributed signed by the Oromo Liberation Front. Students were suspected, and police searched the dormitories for a particular Oromo student who managed to escape.²¹

Thus it was the two leading and most historically and culturally related ethnic groups, the Tigreans and the Amharas, who harbored the strongest antagonism toward each other, rooted in the fact that the Amharas had won the historical struggle for political supremacy. This tension could even if rarely, flare up. In the Laboratory School of the Faculty of Education in 1967 a serious fight involving these two groups of students went on for several days, reportedly on a "tribal basis."²² It resulted in several months' custody for 16 students at the Kelfa police training station, and petitions from 36 Tigreans to be sent home to Eritrea because they were afraid of being beaten up.²³

The Eritrean Question

The northernmost area under Ethiopian imperial suzerainty, the Bahr Negash, became the Italian colony of Eritrea in 1889. It was occupied by the British in 1941 and was under their administration until a UN decision federated Eritrea with Ethiopia in 1952.²⁴ A decade later the federation ended when Eritrea was united with Ethiopia, but it is important to note that determined and outspoken opposition was voiced against both the federation and the unionization by Muslim and Christian Eritreans alike. They feared, not without reason, Arabization of the territory and the suppression of such institutions as the political parties, labor unions, elected assembly, and press which had developed during the British administration. The right to self-determination for Eritrea was insisted upon by the opposition.

On the whole, students refrained from commenting on the issue, whereas they openly supported the government's measures to protect the territorial integrity of Ethiopia in its conflict with Somalia over the Ogaden.³³ One exception was the enthusiastic editorial in the Alemaya College of Agriculture student paper in 1962, which congratulated Haile Selassie "on his successful endeavour to reunite Eritrea with the motherland."³⁴ The ideology was identical with that of the governmental newspaper:

His Imperial Majesty was able to liberate it [Eritrea] from the rule of Italian colonists, thus lifting it free from any social and political subjugation. the Eritrean Parliament unanimously decided to end the federation and reunite with Ethiopia. His Imperial Majesty has graciously consented to the proposal granting Eritrea the privilege of becoming one of the Ethiopian provinces.

The numerous Eritrean students in Addis Ababa may have persuaded some that the privilege referred to was a mixed blessing, and silence was certainly the usual response. The International Union of Students' resolution to support the Eritrean Liberation Front (Cairo, July 1966) provoked strong opposition among Ethiopian students, and in 1967 a NUELS Sixth Congress resolution affirmed that Eritrea was an indivisible part of Ethiopia.³⁵ Firm opposition was expressed to the FLF and to secession movements in general. Yet, support for such movements was indicated under certain conditions, that is, if they were not "reactionary" and "unnational," and if their leadership had a "scientific world outlook." A movement whose ideology was socialist and whose ultimate aim was not to break away from the nation state could thus be supported. With the exception of the NJEUS resolution the Eritrean question was not addressed in student writings in Ethiopia until Walkigné's article. In the USCAA campaign in late autumn 1968, strong charges were made against Tilahun Gizeaw, a Tigrean, and his supporters for what was said to be their involvement in secessionist movements, and they were accused of being agents for this or that secessionist organization.³⁶ According to Snugge and Tilahun Gizeaw, "tribalism, chauvinism and localism" were exploited in the campaign and decided the election against Tilahun.³⁷

A few months before Walkigné published his article, Abdul Mejid Husein wrote one implying that discussion of the national question went on among student activists.³⁸ He stressed that ethnic clusters in Ethiopia could not be referred to as nations but only as linguistic groups, and that it was insufficient to say the government and exploiters were Amhara only, since they came from various ethnic backgrounds. A non-Amhara, Abdul nevertheless supported Amharic as the national language, no matter whether it had "rightly or wrongly" been adopted. Strong concern for Ethiopian unity was expressed in this article as well as in Tilahun Gizeaw's interview before he withdrew from the university in 1969.³⁹ Tilahun stressed that secessionist movements could only be tolerated

for tactical reasons—to weaken the regime—and if they served as a basis for "revolutionary action with the aim of emancipating the whole people: 'Ethiopia in unity and north diversity' (emphasis added).⁴³

The official stand of NLF'S and USIA seemed to have been outright condemnation of the ELF up to 1964-1965,⁴⁴ while most Eritrean students favored it, but conditional support gave Waye Wellegne's article appeared in November 1959 it was endorsed by most student activists. Provided the leadership of a national movement was progressive, he held that it would be "selfishness to ask a people to be partners in being exploited till you can catch up. A socialist Frere and Rabi would give a great impetus to the revolution in this country and could form an opposition and democratic base for reunification" (emphasis added).⁴⁵ The unity of Ethiopia was of great importance to most students, and even the Eritreans preferred their did not want separation, abhorrence of the regime made it seem the only course.⁴⁶

Ethiopian students abroad discussed these issues extensively at the eighth Congress of the ESLE in 1964 and at ESCWA's 17th Congress.⁴⁷ The resolutions on Eritrea from the latter were later printed in an underground issue of Struggle in which students at home professed agreement with and support for the position taken by their brothers abroad.⁴⁸ Then as later the Eritrean question was seen within the broader theoretical framework of nationalism, since a stand on Eritrea would affect student attitudes toward other rebellious ethnic groups in Ethiopia. Support was given to the struggle, armed or otherwise, which people waged everywhere against their common oppression, but clear opposition was voiced against separatist movements. "Not their objective is contrary to the Ethiopian people's emancipation from feudalism and imperialism." The feudal ruling class was seen as the greatest enemy.

The resolutions expressed firm disapproval of the ELF leadership. The reasons for this attitude were many but ideology was primary and the ELF leaders were described as "feudalist, comprador and capitalist." The organization opposed Haile Selassie's dictatorship in Eritrea to be sure, but it had shown no opposition to feudal or capitalist exploitation in Eritrea or in Ethiopia, nor had it resisted U.S. imperialism and its military political and economic neo-colonialism of Eritrea and Ethiopia as a whole. The members accused the ELF of falsifying Ethiopian history by contending that Eritrea had the characteristics of a separate nation.

The resolutions implied a split between the ELF leadership in exile and the people fighting in Eritrea. The armed struggle against "feudalist oppression and imperialist exploitation" was highly praised and the resolution encouraged the fighters "to carry the struggle to new heights."⁴⁹ No support was voiced for their independence from the Ethiopian state; indeed, it was suggested this was not their aim but only that of the ELF leadership. No mention was made in the resolutions of the right of oppressed nationalities to self-determination, a term

frequently used in the working papers of the ESUNA congress as well as in the 1970 underground issue of *Struggle*.⁵⁰ The relationship of this principle to the Eritrean situation was fraught with ideological complications and differences and hence was left out as a compromise.

At the 19th Congress of ESUNA in August 1971, almost two years after Walkign's order,⁵¹ the membership was ready to support "the unconditional demand for the right to self-determination of all the peoples in all the regions of Ethiopia," which was the opening paragraph of the resolutions.⁵² Again it was stated that ESUNA "fully supports the Eritrean people's struggle for self-determination." Despite these expressions, however, support was contingent on the ideology of the socialist movement. In the case of Eritrea, ESUNA stated that "revolutionaries must be prepared to support the formation of a sovereign state in the region" if the "labouring masses" of Eritrea so wished.⁵³ ESUNA nevertheless insisted that the movement have an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist program, recognize the indispensability of the "complete unity... of the toiling masses in Eritrea and the toiling masses of all nationalities and regions throughout the empire, and therefore leads its struggle on principles that are completely free from sectarianism and regionalism."

Certainly, student ideological sophistication was highly developed and consistent. The overall principle was that the *civil* struggle within the empire was more important than the question of self-determination for the nationalities. The formula, *dissidente te unire*,⁵⁴ was behind Ethiopian students' attempts to work out a stand on the Eritrean matter, but the word *dissidente* was accepted with varying degrees of reluctance. Adherence to what was felt to be a correct and just ideology competed with fears about the extensive disintegration of the empire and the potential forces of the exploited masses. Students may have been confused by the fact that the views of Lenin and Stalin toward secession developed through time, going from support in the bourgeois phase of the revolution to strong opposition in the proletarian phase. In the latter stage, by self-determination for nationalities Lenin meant extensive autonomy for a region within the larger framework of the state, an interpretation which was also adopted by the revolutionaries in China.⁵⁵

An ideological struggle within the ELF leadership was applauded by the students, since the opposition was led by anti-apartheid, anti-feudalists, and anti-imperialists willing to join forces with other struggling groups within Ethiopia.⁵⁶ Eventually in 1971, the Eritrean liberation movement split with the formation of the Eritrean People's Liberation Force,⁵⁷ whose leadership sent a message to ESUNA declaring their solidarity with the oppressed peoples in the rest of the empire and with the Ethiopian student movement.⁵⁸ These developments may have encouraged those who wanted the student movement to give unconditional support to Eritrean liberation, a stand which had won strong acceptance in the Ethiopian Student Union in Europe⁵⁹ and which

caused a clash and a split at the ESUNA 19th Congress.⁵⁹

On the whole, the national question became the central issue in the debates of the Ethiopian students at home and abroad. Ideological differences and much bitterness developed, and an abusive, uncompromising language of accusation and condemnation flourished. After 1969 the student movement within Ethiopia was too fragile to be able to procure much in the way of resolutions.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, in the 1971 CSUAA election campaign, all speakers took up the question of nationalities, the fake unity of Ethiopia, and the right to peaceful secession and self-determination for Eritrea, with real unity as the ultimate aim.⁶¹ The ideological inspiration behind student thinking on these lines was always acknowledged to be Marxism-Leninism and Mao-Tse Tung's thoughts.⁶²

Ideological differences became bitter partly because of the agonizing effects of the Ethiopian military actions against the guerrillas in Eritrea, which also hit civilians severely and which exacerbated student feeling against the regime. Modern U.S. weapons were used against tiny villages, some of which were bombed out of existence or had their population massacred. A large proportion of the army 10,000 soldiers around 1970, was stationed there. Tens of thousands of refugees fled to the Sudan. In December 1970, Eritrea came under military administration and a state of emergency was declared.⁶³

The World Wide Union of Ethiopian Students condemned the brutality involved in supporting Eritrean resistance and tried to publicize it to the world. At home students tried to reach the CAU delegates in order to expose the regime.⁶⁴ In August 1969, seven university students hijacked an Ethiopian airliner on a regular Addis Ababa-Djibouti flight and forced it to go to Khartoum.⁶⁵ From November 1972 on there were continuous strikes in most senior and junior secondary schools in Eritrea and students joined the guerrilla forces in increasing numbers. One also heard frequently of Eritrean university students who left their studies in Addis Ababa to join the People's Front.

Concluding Remarks

The events of 1969 demonstrated a most critical erosion of the government's authority and exposed its inability to respond adequately to the student challenge. It constantly took untenable positions, and its responses alternated between repression and reconciliation. It failed dramatically to establish any sort of dialogue with the students mostly because it did not genuinely try. Never had such vehement verbal opposition to the government been heard in Ethiopia. It reverberated through all the major towns of the country, bringing to an unprecedented stop all educational activities in the secondary schools and the university for many months. The number of active supporters was much larger than before, and the geographical distribution much broader. Events proved beyond doubt that solidarity between university and secondary school

students, which the unions had attempted to promote the last few years, was now a significant force. High school students not only in Addis Ababa but also in the provinces were ready to participate in agitation and boycotts. Withdrawal from education, the prestigious commodity offered to the fortunate few, had become a conspicuous mode of protest. The image of the Haile Selassie government abroad was tarnished through press reports and because Ethiopian students in the United States and major capitals of Europe demonstrated in solidarity with their compatriots at home, exposing and condemning the regime.⁶⁴

Nevertheless, no general uprising followed Tilahun Gessu's death. The events of December demonstrated clearly that the student movement was more isolated and much weaker than some of the revolutionary optimists had thought. It was also ravaged by division, not in its analysis of the prevailing conditions in Ethiopia or in its attitude toward the regime, but on questions of strategy. The greatest unity was always displayed in the face of government suppression. Whatever disagreements and shades of differences existed among students regarding the Eritrean Liberation Front, support was given as a tactical measure directed against the government and intended to encourage the unity of forces which wanted to end feudalism in Ethiopia. Disintegration of the Ethiopian state was either abhorred or seen as a temporary measure in order to obtain national unity based on equality and self-determination for the regions and ethnic groups within the empire.

The government policy in December 1969 of uncompromising suppression of the student movement was a response to what was seen as student meddling in the matter of Eritrea. Every African state had its Kalanga, and Ethiopia had many potential trouble spots. Large areas had been brought under Ethiopian control in the same period as the European scramble for Africa. Student support for the liberation front in Eritrea was seen as encouragement to the break-up of the Ethiopian state. Government suppression was so severe as to cause a definite setback to the student movement, although it also undoubtedly contributed toward raising the level of political consciousness of the average student and enhanced the feeling of alienation from the regime.

Notes

1. Editorial, *People of Neutral Legacy*, and Amhara Editorial, *In the Obligation of Oppressed and Persecuted People to Protest by Taking up Arms*, *Struggle* 17.11.1969
2. Weldegees Mekonnen, "On the Question of Nationalism in Ethiopia," *Struggle* 17.11 (1969) 4-7.
3. When adopting Christianity, Greeks often took Arabic-Christians names. After 1970, however, the prevalent trend was to drop the new name and revert to the original.
4. Abraham Gelaw, "A People or Peoples in Ethiopia," *Struggle* 17.11.1969 22
5. Weldegees Mekonnen, "Nationalities."

6. V. I. Lenin, *The Right of Nations to Self-determination* (New York: 1951); Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Questions*.
Editorial, *Challenge* 10, No. 1, February 1970:1
7. Andreas Bahro, "The Problem of Regionalism and Religion. Some Theoretical Considerations"; Hagoit G. Yesus, "Problems of Regionalism in Ethiopia"; Melaku Assefa, "Problem of Religion in Ethiopia"; and Alem Habtu, "Regionalism and National Liberation," *Challenge* 10, No. 1, February 1970.
8. Markakis 1975:51
9. *N & V* 25 10.1963 6-7, "Challenger to All" by Guta Strenius.
10. Geteasat Zewdu, "When the Present Generation Contributors," *JPSA* 1, No. 1, April 1966:12
11. *N & V* 27 12.1963 8, "UC Students, United"
12. Taye Gurmu, "Ethiopian Nationalism," *JPSA* 3, No. 1, April 1968.
13. *N & V* 30.4.1966 31 "Ethiofascism" by Halle Mariam Goshu; Abdul Mejid Hussein, "Ethiopia and Ethiopianism," *Struggle* 3, No. 1, undated (1969):9
14. Editorial, Regionalism: A Historical Phenomenon, *Struggle* 4.12.1968 The same thoughts are expressed in the poem, "Ityopiyawito man no?" (Who is the Ethiopian?) by Ibsa Gurmu, which received a prize in the 1966 poetry competition.
15. Article by Johannes W. Giorgis in *Struggle* 4.12.1967; Job Tadeuse, Letter to the Editor, and Abdul Mejid Hussein, "Ethiopia and Ethiopianism," *Struggle* 3, No. 1, undated (1969):9-11.
16. Klineberg and Zavallani 1969:241.
17. *N & V* 22.11.1963 11, "College Life as I expected and as it is" by Alemu Denekew.
18. *N & V* 26.2.1964 .3, "Speak either of the two" by Aycle Merbesh.
19. Halle Wolde Mikael, "The Lack of Psychic Mobility," 1971 23
20. LC 8, 23.10.1970, LC 10, 24.10.1970.
21. LC 28, 1.1.1971, Mem 1970:185.
22. Bondartsev 1975:104.
23. Diary 17.5 1973
24. LC 42, 1.5 1971.
25. Diary 17.5 1973; Markakis 1974:178-81
26. Diary 17.5 1973; Markakis 1974:178-81
27. EH 3 8.1968.
28. Diary 9.12.1972, 17.5.1973 Demand for postsecondary education was acknowledged to exist in western Ethiopia, and planning for a university there was recommended in Summerskill 1970:54
29. Diary 20.3.1973, 23.3.1973, Legum 1975:14.
30. Amharic pamphlets 1969, No. 21
31. LC 56, 17.1.1972
32. UR 13.6.1967
33. LC 8, 23.3.1970
34. Mem 1970 181-90. An exposition of the Eritrean cause appeared in *Tricontinental*, Havana, No. 4 and 5, January/April 1968:66-69.
35. Editorial, Unpatriotic Patriots, *N & V* 14.2.1964, Editorial, *B-S* 14.2.1964.
36. CO 23.11.1962
37. Resolutions of the 6th Congress of the NUEUJ, March 1967 11
38. *Struggle* 3, No. 1, undated (1969):4
39. Interview with Tishahun Gizew, ibid., pp. 14-17
40. Abdul Mejid Hussein, "Ethiopia and Ethiopianism," *Struggle* 3, No. 1, undated (1969):9-11
41. Interview with Tishahun Gizew, ibid., pp. 14-17

- 42 Waldfriede Makonnen, "Nationalities," pp. 4-7
- 43 Ibid. p. 6 Resolutions of the 6th Congress of the NUEUP, March 1967
- 44 Waldfriede Makonnen, "Nationalities."
- 45 LC 26, 1 1.1971
- 46 The FULB resolutions, Zagreb 1968 took a similar stand as ESJNA's resolution of 1969. Tewodros Lachso, "The Question of Nationalities and Class Struggle in Ethiopia," *Challenge* 3 No. 3, July 1970, and Resolutions of the 17th Congress of ESJNA, *Challenge* 10, No. 1, February 1970 58-60.
- 47 Struggle May 1970, dedicated to Tigray Gidore 17-48 (one of the working papers for the ESJNA 17th Congress). Major Omer Yousif, one of the most influential Ethiopian student politicians abroad turned a Tigray wrote about the ELF leaders: "Sitting in foreign capitals, they propagate the absurd idea that the Eritrean people are not Ethiopians, and as if to convince themselves, they spread the fantastic story that the history of the Eritrean people dates from 1881 or 1890" (when Eritrea became an Italian colony). "Problem of Nationalism in Ethiopia," *Challenge* 10 No. 1, February 1970 34. The same view was expressed in "The Eritrean Liberation Front and the Ethiopian Revolution," Struggle May, 1970 10.
- 48 Resolutions of the 17th Congress of ESJNA, 19 1969 section III 3, *Challenge* 10, No. 1, February 1970, reprinted in Struggle May 1970.
- 49 Ibid. articles in *Challenge* by Andras Lakos, Major O. Yousif, and Alim Habte cited in note 8.
- 50 Waldfriede Makonnen, "Nationalities."
- 51 Resolutions of the 19th Congress of ESUNA August 1971 printed in *Challenge* 12, No. 1, November 1971 57-61.
- 52 Resolutions of the 9th Congress of FULB A IV and Vb
- 53 Struggle May 1970 67
- 54 Tewodros Lachso, "The Question of Nationalities." Quotations in this article are from V. I. Lenin, "Critical Remarks on the National Question" (Collected Works, Moscow 1964), vol. 20 33, and "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (ibid., pp. 400-401) from Stalin, "The National Question Once Again," in *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question* (New York 1934), pp. 223-24 and from Mao Tse-Tung, "On Coalition Government" (Selected Works Peking 1971), vol. 3 236.
- 55 Resolutions of the 29th Congress of ESUNA, Vc
- 56 Bonn 1973 94.
- 57 Tewodros Lachso, "The Question of Nationalities," p. 44
- 58 Tigray, March 1964 3; Letter to All Members of USUAA & EUE from the Executive Council of ESUNA
- 59 "Politics of Fraud Imperialism" (*Challenge* 17 No. 1 November 1971 49 1C 34, 10 11 1971). Melesse Habte (1931-1967) was the president of the splinter group of ESUNA. His death in November 1971 was followed by many student demonstrations to be linked to the division within the student movement.
- 60 "Support for the Resolutions of the 17th Congress of ESUNA," Struggle May 1970 82-88 LC 14 7 1. 1970 LC 24 13 13 973 4C 46 13 2. 971
- 61 USUAA election campaign for Presidency 17 1 1971, Solid Kiln campus, on grounds, and 6 12 1971 Addis Ababa, few speeches (german notes).
- 62 USUAA election campaign Reporters of the 21st Congress of ESUNA, Tewodros Lachso, "The Question of Nationalities."
- 63 State of Emergency in Certain Areas of the Treaty City of Eritrea. Regulation Order No. 66 of 1970. Negash Gatek, 6 13 1970 Bonn 1973 93-96
- 64 Resolutions of the 17th Congress of ESUNA, "Resolutions of the 19th Congress of

- ESUNA"; *Struggle* May 1971.37; *New Service*, International Union of Students, No. 2, January 1971
65. *SH* 13.8.1969; *Struggle* 28.11.1969.9
66. "Repression in Ethiopia," Prepared by the Ethiopian Students Union in North America, January 1971; S. Pauswang, "Ethiopia in the Press in Scandinavia and West Germany," 1970; *Africa Research Bulletin* 1969.1476; *Africa Diary* 1969.44.7, Kochh and Hayes, "Revolution and Protest," 1973.34, note 17.

Part VI

Prelude to Revolution

1970-1973

6:1 Prelude to Revolution 1970-1973

The four years before the revolution of 1974 were a period of trench warfare between unarmed students and armed government forces. Disruption in the university and secondary schools was chronic, sparked by any cause, and strikes and boycotts had become institutionalized. In overt political agitation the secondary school students outpaced those at the university. A major contributing factor to radicalization during these years was the prospect of unemployment, not only for high school dropouts but also for graduates from technical training institutions and HSIL.¹

After December 1969 the movement in the university experienced a setback from which it never fully recovered. There was a leadership crisis caused by the severe sanctions against activists, many of whom left the country or were in prison. Student opposition to the new student affairs' legislation also delayed USUAA restoration.² The university would not charter any organization "whose activities will be illegal, or whose activities will be simultaneously outside the scope of educational and extracurricular activities, physically outside the University and directed principally to persons not members of the University community." The administration had to be notified about all meetings the organization intended to hold, and a board consisting of staff and students was to review all manuscripts intended for publication. Given these conditions, organizational work had to become clandestine.

This chapter will comment upon the ideology and strategy of the student movement during this period and then document chronologically its activities. Finally university and government response to student behavior will be analyzed.

Ideology

In the last years of Haile Selassie's regime, the direction of the students' ideological development in the late 1960s was confirmed. The hard-line leftists now had no outspoken opposition, and the USUAA was committed to the extent that when urban officials were sworn into office, they promised to support and promote the ideological aspects of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-Tung's thoughts.³ In USUAA election speeches in March and December 1971—the only two in the period under consideration—all ten candidates professed that Marxism-Leninism was the only possible ideology for Ethiopia.⁴ The one remedy for the country's ills was revolution accompanied by the violence and human costs it involved. The diagnosis of the Ethiopian situation was still of primary importance, and the candidates concentrated on analyzing the socio-economic structure of society according to the Marxist theory of class struggle.⁵ The packed audiences listened with extraordinary satisfaction to bitter attacks on the inequality, poverty and backwardness of Ethiopia. The question of nationalities was dealt with by all speakers⁶ and leaders would privately stress their unconditional support for all liberation movements in Ethiopia, referring to Mao's evaluation of such nations as invaluable in assuring the class struggle.⁷

Regarding the future role of their movement, students realized that as a group they were incapable of making a revolution. In the election speeches all speakers professed their faith in the Ethiopian masses, in their intelligence and consciousness of exploitation,⁸ and they all believed it would be easy to instigate peasant uprisings in the countryside.⁹ Some advocated guerrilla warfare, and some thought the goal of the movement was to teach the masses and organize the peasants into a revolutionary force.¹⁰ There was much revolutionary romanticism, as expressed in one of the movement's songs:

ፊ ቅ : ተ እ ዓ ሆ . ፊ ቅ : ተ እ ዓ ሆ .
 ከ ጥ ሁ . ሪ ቃ ሁ ሂ : ከ ጥ ሁ ተ ሁ ሆ
 ፊ ቅ : ተ እ ዓ ሆ
 ከ ጥ ሁ ተ ሁ ሆ . ከ ጥ ሁ ተ ሁ ሆ¹¹
 ፊ ቅ : ባ ባ : እ እ
 ፊ ቅ : ባ ባ : እ እ

Freedom fighter! Go to your work
 Like Ho Chi Minh. Like Che Guevara

Freedom fighter! Go to your work
 Like Che Guevara. Like Ho Chi Minh
 Freedom fighter, enter the forest!
 Freedom fighter, enter the forest.

Apart from stressing the need for analysis of the Ethiopian situation, there was a conspicuous absence of concrete issues or demands in the election speeches. No candidate said what he would do if elected to the USCAA executive. (To fight for freedom of expression and assembly was a stain theme.) No practical matters, such as the need for low cost housing in Addis Ababa, or demands concerning student welfare were raised.¹¹ Since the Land to the Tiller demonstration,¹² the idea of demanding anything for students alone was regarded as outdated. The lack of program and short term goals must be seen in relation to the undifferentiated opposition students encountered, since wherever they turned they were blocked. Moreover, blocking adoption of any agenda was the general student reaction of the regime and any room which might prolong its existence. At this stage the sole interest of activists was to deepen the contradictions in Ethiopian society.¹³

The student movement's references to the 'Orth' had been utterly rejected by the government. Commercial, pragmatic political thinking was lacking in their environment, and the students were denied the opportunity to develop these qualities while studying at the university. This experience was that decisions were taken by "somebody high up." Peaceful political consensus and dialogue between opposing groups were unknown in Ethiopia and within the university. In such an oppressive atmosphere only the most dedicated, the true believers, were able to prevail. Yet, for all the movement's preference for theoretical analysis rather than practical action only the most shortsighted abstaining or confused eyes could suggest that the revolutionaries were not motivated by profound social concern. They had a sense of historical mission, of being instruments in an inevitable process of change of playing a role no other group was prepared to perform in Ethiopian society.¹⁴

Contributing to the huge following for student activism were two factors apparent at the end of the 1960s. They should however, used to not to disregard the persuasive ability of disciplined and well-read activists and the sense of moral obligation to support the student cause, both of which gave sted and sustained united action. One contributing factor was the high attrition rate, especially in the freshman year which prompted many students to support motions for boycott and withdrawal. They would rather be excluded from university studies for political reasons than because they failed examinations. There was a marked tendency for freshmen and second year students to be determined boycotters, the nearer a student was to graduation, the less likely he was to support static actions. Another factor that swelled the ranks was the

determination of some activists to use physical and psychological warfare to enforce unity. Student politicians did not conceal that harsh methods would be introduced if persuasion seemed inadequate.¹⁵ To those who suggested there was not much difference between government and USUAA repression, activists answered that they suppressed reactionary views while the government suppressed progressive ideas.¹⁶ At this stage Ethiopian student politicians did not seem to be concerned with the issue of the means appropriate to attain their goal of a society with more justice and equality.

In comparison, Tanzanian student leaders of the extreme left, whose organization and paper were banned at the University of Dar es Salaam in 1971, were most concerned with this means-ends issue. They acknowledged Frantz Fanon to be their hero yet questioned his views on violence, just as they questioned Marx's concept of human nature, which they found limited.¹⁷ These students did not feel the kind of urgency their Ethiopian counterparts experienced. The Tanzanian leftists had faith in the leadership of their country, and even if their radical society was banned, their union was not, they also did not feel they were severely repressed. The environment in Ethiopia created an enraged spirit which left no room for subtle considerations concerning political means.

Strategy

The overthrow of the Haile Selassie regime was not considered a short-term goal. The new tactics after December 1969 were designed to consolidate the movement and raise the level of political consciousness within the student body, as well as to strengthen all possible links with groups outside the university. Numerous clandestine Marxist-Leninist study circles were formed. Veteran activists shifted attention from the university, in which it became more and more difficult to operate, to the secondary schools and teacher training colleges, to the labor unions and to the teachers.¹⁸ Yet, a strategy of peaceful consolidation proved impossible to follow in practice because students also wanted to continue their agitation in order to raise political consciousness in the population at large.¹⁹ A common feature of almost all meetings was an effort to reach the population outside the university by singing, chanting, and speeches through loudspeakers. The Arat Kilo campus, much nearer the flow of traffic and people than Sidiq Kilo, was preferred as a gathering place by students, for the same reason it was denied to them by the university.²⁰ Most of the time during the early 1970s students had no right to assemble on campus without permission from the administration. This requirement prevented most meaningful extracurricular activities, particularly debating, which the students especially favored.

Whenever a meeting was announced students would attend, not hundreds but thousands, and any topic could be turned to advantage, that is, used for political purposes.²¹ Professor Ali Mazrui's description of his visit to HSU in December

1973 vividly illustrates this point.²³ He was greatly surprised at the turn-out for an academic lecture, "the mass of humanity" was there, singing political songs. Mezru's host, a professor of political science was shouted down when he tried to introduce his guest. The students insisted that the meeting had to be under their control, and before Mezru was given a hearing, the students made their speeches. Mezru concluded that these were the most radical students he had ever addressed and that their critique of the Ethiopian government was the most blunt: he had never heard of an African government where the intense political interest and sense of urgency on the part of the students, the university did not easily give in to student demands for meetings. In the consequences were unpredictable. When students of the Faculty of Education tried to arrange a panel discussion about educational needs in developing countries, they were given a hall which seated about 200. When 2,000 students arrived, the discussion had to be cancelled.²⁴

The strategy of peaceful consolidation was also difficult owing to the reputation for political activism the students had gained and hence the general expectations in certain sections of the population, particularly in the capital. Student leaders felt the movement had to live up to its image as one of the strongest in Africa.²⁵ The main reason the JSUAA lost control of its peaceful strategy in May 1971 and February 1972 however, was the political agitation of the secondary school students, which was of a compelling, practical nature. Support was necessary lest the cause of the student movement be betrayed and the students' "holy duty" remain unfulfilled.²⁶ In the '70s university students no longer initiated actions in the secondary schools but rather rendered support when asked.²⁷ The initiative in practice had shifted, and one of the most conspicuous features of the last five years of Haile Selassie's reign was the extent to which secondary school students became politicized. The cause was rooted in social malaise and nurtured by the despair which the prospect of failure in school career and probable unemployment created. The expectations not only of the individual were disappointed but also of an entire family which had sacrificed in order to benefit from educating one of its members.

Although severely restricted the student movement was able to manifest its existence during the early 1970s. An underground 96-page issue of *Struggle* was distributed in May 1970, and ELS participants in September and general student assemblies (October 30 and November 4) raised demands concerning the release of imprisoned students and the reinstatement of USLAA. Committees were elected to seek the release of students and negotiate about student affairs legislation. At the end of 1970 the relevant unit obtained of four students who had been condemned to terms of five to seven years. In May 1971, after persistent efforts, the last student arrested in January 1970, Valentine Makonnen, was released. In March and December 1971 elections for the USLAA congress and campaigns for the USLAA executive were permitted to

take place—the last ones in the period.

Tilahun Gizew's death and the bodyguard attack on the crowd became a focal point. On December 28 and 29, one year after the events students staged a two-day class boycott in the university and secondary schools, and about 500 students attended meetings on the Sjidist Kilo campus. Placards with pictures of some of the dead students and others with revolutionary slogans were carried in procession. "The Murder of Tilahun, the Massacre points to Revolution... You may kill Revolutionaries, but not Revolutions. Power to the People." One after another students rose to speak or read poetry full of word play and satire concerning the legitimacy of the regime. Similar commemorations were observed in the following two years.²⁷

Among the many student songs, two were common. In the first the verse would be repeated exchanging Tilahun's name with names of other students who had died.

ጥ አበን : ከምኑ : ከምኑ ፈቃ
በኋዕስ : በተቀባዩ : ተወ
ሳቀናት : የሚታወች.

ዶወት : ዶወት : ዶወት፣ ከገቢዎች
+ ቅጽሁት፣ ከትኩዎች
ወወት : ከገቢዎች፣ ከገቢዎች፣ ድንብ
የገዢ፣ ያለውንው፣ ይፈጸምኝነት

Tilahun, why, why did he die?
By Force By Struggle
Is Freedom Won.

Land, land, land to the Tiller
Fight for Him. Don't run away
Those whom he educated by
his sweat are his spokesmen.

Crisis 1971

A major crisis developed in the university and secondary schools in May 1971. Rude interactions on the student press and assembly¹¹ and the fact that the union's printing equipment had not been returned by the security police prompted USUAA to call a general assembly at the Jiddu K in camp on May 13, 1971. The administration and the government were harshly criticized, and a demonstration followed in front of the Makonnen Hall, the administration building. Students then occupied the recreation center's temple to follow up Tilahun's demand of 1969 that its profit should be controlled by USUAA. The university president declared a state of emergency and refused any kind of negotiations until students returned to class.¹² The following day classes were boycotted, and around 300 students gathered on campus, singing and shouting abuse at named administrators and faculty especially the Dean of Students. Placards read "A Free University or No University Stop Intellectual Suffering Stop Administration's Arrogance." Speeches and poetry readings followed. A warning was issued that if the student's fair legislation was rejected USUAA would cease to be recognized.¹³ In a general assembly on May 23, USUAA president Tarkku Dabir Ifou presented agreements obtained with the newly established UAC concerning the transfer of some of student property, and promises of further negotiations on the student affairs legislation; an agreement obtained with the help of the Ethiopian University Teachers Association and the Alumni Association.¹⁴ Tarkku recommended that students stop their strike. Unexpectedly a majority of students to some extent incited by junior activists such as the USUAA secretary Gashew Mamo in a highly charged atmosphere voted for complete withdrawal from the university in support of the agitation of the secondary school students which had begun a few days before.

Starting around May 26 the agitation of the secondary school students was spectacularly unprecedented and mainly centered around the rising cost of living and the extreme exploitation of the rich and powerful people. There was protest against the student 10 percent hike in bus fares in Addis Ababa and steep rises in food prices, particularly butter and grain. On May 24, 1971, the high school students in Addis Ababa went on strike. They demanded compensation for land taken by the university students since 1963, land reform and the abolition of the Shala concentration camps for beggars, the rich and the disabled. They also protested increased school fees demanded the government should provide employment for all twelfth grade babies and called for an end to martial law in Eritrea.

During the following week bands of secondary school students roamed houses in Addis Ababa. They stoned city buses which belonged to the Ambassa Bus Company. Rumors to be spread by the popular is that the attacks were left to be indirect assaults on bus.¹⁵ Students attacked Mercedes cars and broke US

window of Orbis Company, which imported these cars, the status symbols of the high-ranking military and civil officials.³³ They invaded the market area to ask traders the price of butter or grain. Being afraid of the hordes surrounding him, a trader would mention a low price, and students would invite people to buy. If prices again were raised they would return and pour kerosene over the foodstuffs. These actions earned the sympathy of large sections of the population, the police included. They interfered to a negligible extent and were said to have remarked "This is good. This is not politics." Owing to the police attitude, army units stationed in outlying areas were called in to protect the buildings and streets of Addis Ababa. Certainly, there were student activists who hoped to create, as Peter Koehn states, "a situation of spontaneous escalating agitation which would culminate in the intervention of progressive military elements to restore order."³⁴

As noted above, on May 20 USUAA voted for complete withdrawal from the university in support of the secondary school students. In comparison, university students felt their own internal problems were petty and irrelevant, and in the following days hundreds handed in university property and left.³⁵ Picketing and tense arguments took place, and the police occupied the university.³⁶ On May 25 most secondary schools in the city were closed, the university resumed lectures in those units where more than 50 percent of the students still attended.³⁷ Freshmen were suspended, and almost all second-year students had withdrawn.

Around May 20, students at the Alameya College of Agriculture went on strike and began a march to Harar (25 km. away). They intended to present the governor with demands for immediate action in connection with cholera in Hararge province and the safeguarding of grazing rights of the nomads in the Awash Valley. The students were not permitted to see any official and were returned to Alameya on police trucks. Classes were further disrupted by activists, security forces were called in, and eventually teaching had to stop at the college.³⁸

The agitation and strikes quickly spread to secondary schools in Debre Zeit, Nazareth, Yeqalem, Debre Berhan Desue, Mekelle, Ambo, and Nekemts and to the Teacher Training Institute in Harar. Ras Mesfin Sileshi Governor of Shoa, was singled out for attack, and his villa in Debre Zeit and his private irrigation system in Ambo were damaged. In Nazareth secondary school students burned a grain storehouse to protest exploitation of the peasants in Araxi and Bale provinces, grain merchants lent money at high interest rates to peasants before the harvest and collected in kind at harvest time when prices were low, a system which allowed exorbitant profits.

The urban guerrilla type of agitation of the secondary school students in spring 1971 reached larger numbers of people than had previous demonstrations. A British adviser in the Ministry of Education stated in an interview: "The

secondary school students have succeeded in doing more in three weeks than the university students have done in five years in reaching the population — 'to make them understand what the student cause is really about'".⁴⁰ The outcome was that prices of butter and grain were temporarily lowered, but not the bus fares.⁴¹

Chirr 1972

Planning and coordination of the Addis Ababa agitation had been done by the student councils of the secondary schools, which also had a council of councils.⁴² The Ministry of Education's effort to prevent the formation of student councils the following school year became the focal point for a new round of disruptions in the secondary schools. When strikes began in November 1971, the lack of coordination was apparent and pressure was put on the university students to provide direction. For some time they did not respond, the new leadership of USUAA felt the need to update but not as the issue of reinstatement of student councils. On February 4 USUAA prepared for a demonstration to protest the UN Security Council's lukewarm attitude, at its meeting in Addis Ababa, toward the recent agreement between the British government and the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia. USUAA distributed a pamphlet supporting the Zimbabwe freedom fighters, but their application for permission to demonstrate was refused and a tremendous show of police force prevented any student action.⁴³ The government disrupted the motives of USUAA, since during the anti-Rhodesia demonstration in 1964 students had also cheered their national heroes. The USUAA president then sent a letter to the Security Council about the student stand, explaining that the Ethiopian government denied students the right to voice their opinions.⁴⁴

USUAA actions appeared on February 11 expressing support for the secondary school students' demands, which by now also included the release of imprisoned students, the reinstatement of others, and one month's postponement of the ESUC examination.⁴⁵ The secondary school student pamphlet, which came up with the highly popular demand that sixth- and eighth-grade failures be allowed to repeat one year and sit for new exams, was mimeographed on the USUAA machine.⁴⁶ The students who had borrowed the equipment and distributed the pamphlet were caught by the police. No one knew where they were held and there was frightening rumor of what had happened to the leader of the group, Deek Toga.⁴⁷ Extremely worried the USUAA president without the knowledge of his fellow officers, prepared a pamphlet to be distributed in the secondary schools early on Monday morning, February 14 calling for a boycott to obtain the release of the arrested students. One of the secondary school students who fetched the pamphlets was a security agent, and Girmachew Lemma, the USUAA president, was quickly arrested.⁴⁸ Students

threatened to strike on February 11 if he was not released.

On February 19 almost all USUAA officers and congressmen, as well as chairmen of professional associations, were arrested at a meeting on the Sidist Kilo campus. The following day student assemblies were forbidden, and several truckloads of armed soldiers entered the campus.⁵⁰ On February 23 the board of governors evicted the USUAA and the cafeteria and berets to those who did not attend classes.⁵¹ Students succeeded in moving and hiding their printing equipment, and pamphlets continued to come out. Until the end of March students were arrested in the capital, and at the Alemaya and Gondar colleges there were strikes demanding their release. Addis Ababa students re-registered on the stranded deadlines only to continue the boycott after obtaining new identity cards. The administration then demanded that the campuses be vacated immediately by those who had not attended classes on March 6 and 7.⁵² Out of 4,230 students, about 2,230 left the university.⁵³

Agitation continued for months in numerous provincial secondary schools. There were large demonstrations in Dire Dawa, and two schools were closed in March 1972. At the Polytechnical Institute in Bahir Dar students boycotted classes, demanding security of employment after graduation.⁵⁴ In Addis Ababa, Tafari Makonnen School had only about 21 normal school days during the first term, September to February 1972.⁵⁵

In Tigré students struck for months protesting the school fees and the emperor retained land taxes and school fees because of persistent drought in the area.⁵⁶ Otherwise, the secondary schools were comparatively quiet and the most desperate act of protest in 1972 took place elsewhere. In December seven present and former university students attempted to hijack an Ethiopian jetliner bound for Europe. There was much domestic and international publicity because, despite much shooting and a bomb explosion which damaged an engine, the plane returned to Addis Ababa. Security inspectors on board killed six, among them Walkignesh Makonnen the reported leader and seriously wounded one. The official statement said that the hijackers intended to publicize and raise funds for the "so-called Eritrean Liberation Front," but since Walkignesh had been involved, and since several others were non-Eritrean, many students saw the action as a general protest against the government.

⁵⁰ The group were Walkignesh Makonnen, Martu Habte, Bala Tedesse (alias Mohamed Lema Mohamed), Gourchew Habte, Teedach Kebus Mersam, Teedayos Beqeq, and Yohannes Beqeq. Indochin was the only survivor. (TH 9 2 972 13 12 1972, 17 12 1972). University students held two days of mourning. (The president of ASIU protested the class boycott in a memo to the student body 11 12 1971.) Rumors persisted that the security police knew about the plan, that the number of inspectors was doubled on that flight, and that the crew were allowed to leave the plane so that they would be caught and tried. (Diary 9/10 12 1972, 13 2 73).

On April 7, 1973, university students demonstrated at the administration building to protest the assignments of three senior Ethiopian staff members.⁵⁵ Geography teacher Mecha Wolda Manan was named governor of Gondar in Wollega, Drab Seyoum Gebre Egzaher became mayor of Gondar, and Debn Seyoum Inqual who gave a position in the Ethiopian embassy in Moscow.⁵⁶ Security forces entered campus immediately, and a furious quarrel ensued between police and students. The university president did not come out to speak to the students, and no staff members participated. They held their own meeting the same afternoon at which they protested strongly the encroachment on university autonomy which these appointments represented.⁵⁷

In March 1973 it became common knowledge that thousands of hungry, exhausted people were marching toward the capital but were being driven back by the police.⁵⁸ There were no reports on the radio or in newspapers, although one Ethiopian Orthodox Church secretary sent urgent appeals to the World Council of Churches on March 17 and 18.⁵⁹ On April 19 two Ethiopian teachers displayed a picture exhibition on Sankt Kilo campus from the famine-stricken areas in Wello. The next day about 400 students met at Sankt Kilo despite furious protests by university guards, who surrounded the leaders with raised batons. Students encouraged one another not to be afraid and to stand fast. The meeting continued concerned solely with the famine and concluded that students had to force the government to acknowledge the problem and that they had to raise funds. Speakers held up loaves of bread and shouted "Bread for the poor." After about 25 minutes, however, armed police marched in, five and six abreast. Students were paralyzed by the rhythm, beat of the clanging bats penetrated the surface until there went shouts and screams. The students scattered, and those who were overtaken were pulled down by their hair, kicked, and severely beaten. Campus buildings and offices were also attacked. A few students managed to run to the city center with loaves held high chanting about the famine. The university established the Wells Farnum Fund to which students gave their breakfast for the remainder of the year.⁶⁰

In May secondary school students in Dasse protested that the hungry were not given adequate government assistance and that aid meant for the starving tended to disappear. The police arrested the leaders, and when a massive student demonstration demanded their release police shot into the crowd. Six students died and many were wounded which was not reported in any newspaper but there were numerous witnesses to the shooting, which occurred in the town center. Police also shot into a student demonstration in Asaba staged when Ras Meleshi cut off the town's water supply in order to irrigate his strawberry fields.⁶¹

On November 19 and December 10, 1973, students held assemblies without permission on the lawns of the Addis Kilo campus. On the first occasion, campus guards beat students with batons and fire hoses. On the second when students began chanting about their wants, police marched in and enforced punishment

drill on the football field. Cafeterias were closed. At about the same time high police officials also conducted a brutal punishment drill on Teacher Training College students near Melesse Square after they had held a peaceful meeting.⁶⁴

The University Response

The fact that the president called in the police when the students met concerning the famine⁶⁵ confirms the administration's view that the university was an appendage of the government. The action was meant to forestall the wrath of the board of governors, for practical purposes identical with the government. When students on the second commemoration ceremony of the death of Tishawhan Gizew lowered the Ethiopian flag, the president said he was "instructed by the government" to inform them that the next time this happened, police would enter the campus to "protect the honour of the Ethiopian flag."⁶⁶

There was dispair and disillusionment with the students on the part of the administration and a tendency to crack down indiscriminately on any manifestation of student expression. The recurring theme in these years was that the university was "in no sense a sanctuary where national laws [did] not apply,"⁶⁷ that is, the laws which made basic civil rights illegal. Students had always believed the administration cooperated with the security police.⁶⁸ After the 1970 assemblies, the security police harassed the relatives of some student activists, informing them that the administration had submitted a list of 17 names of student subversives.⁶⁹

The legislation of 1970 on student affairs reflects not only the university's accommodation to government directives but also the pretense so characteristic of the imperial system. The policy premises stated

The University can grant no rights to its members which are not inherent in national law. Within its own sphere of activity the University is empowered to lay down such additional regulations as it sees to be necessary to carry out its educational function. However, these regulations must never abridge any civil rights of its members, whether students or staff [emphasis added].⁷⁰

The chapter on student publications stated the students had the "same rights as other citizens of Ethiopia to freedom of speech and of the press. The University as an academic institution encourage the exercise of these rights to their full extent" [emphasis added].⁷¹ The discrepancy between words and reality was indeed striking!

The refusal to deal with controversial issues openly and frankly was reflected in the pages of the university publication, *Recent Events and Activities*. The crucially poor relationship between the administration and students was never taken up. In October 1970 Dr. Aklilu held a series of lectures, "Meet the President," which were also meant to introduce the new legislation governing

student activities. A typed report of the lectures, meant for public release, was not published since it reflected the deep-rooted contempt for the administration that existed among students. According to the report the atmosphere of the meeting at the Are Kde campus was "wholly characterised by blocking and putting off lights." Some students were able to create "a deplorable atmosphere of shouts, where sheer rudeness prevailed. It was very disconcerting and disgusting."⁷⁰ The appointment of the three professors to positions outside the university, the photographic exhibition of the feminist victim and the accompanying dramatic student meeting caused great reaction within the university yet no mention can be found in *Events and Activities*.

The difficulty in conducting research in Eritrea was a recurring complaint among academics and students, and HSIU was far from helpful. The view that it was easier to obtain information from a government ministry than from the HSIU administration was not uncommon.⁷¹ Also, the administration was as little inclined as government authorities to hear student views or to communicate with them, both felt that listening and negotiating were signs of weakness.⁷² At the opening of a medical conference at the College of Public Health in Gondar in March 1971, the students demonstrated as the delegates were about to leave the campus, demanding to speak to the HSIU president there to open the conference. When he refused to see them and walked off students blocked the gates keeping all delegates waiting until the president yielded. Hostile discussions then followed as the president was finally a vice-minister suggested an appointment between the president and the students at another time to which the demonstrators consented and then departed.⁷³

On the whole, despite the teaching staff's collective sympathy for student causes, it represented a form although grudging, opposition to the administration. Most of the administration and faculty had been trained in the United States in the 1940s and shared the American fear of socialism. Some regarded student opposition as subversive, a view in sharp contrast with that of younger members of the staff who had received pre-grade as a training in U.S. universities dominated by the New Left's critique of the U.S. political establishment.⁷⁴ Indeed, one characteristic of the HSIU community was the extent to which it was divided, which effectively prevented joint action and partly explain the sympathetic approach to the problems facing the university.

Egyptian staff had committed in their contracts to political disengagement and were mostly absorbed in their professional careers. They did not want to risk expulsion or the non-renewal of contracts. They also seemed to put for a low profile to stress their differences from certain former US faculty members who had tended on all accounts to impose their views on their Ethiopian colleagues.⁷⁵ One received the impression that some foreign staff members tended to underestimate and even ridicule the effect of Marxism on student thinking, often dismissing student politics as shallow and naive, and much more

than the shouting of slogans. Perhaps they overlooked the problem of using a foreign language. Paper-thin academics often seemed to believe politics required particularly sophisticated minds and a correct interpretation of this or that ideology, and thus found the government's repression of student expression less hard to swallow. The following words of Ali Mataru are revealing in this context:

The beginning of the Afarization of Maron may lie in an African's misinterpretation of Marx. Trotsky by getting Marx wrong in Africa could make the German revolutionary more relevant to the African condition. But the world only gets if the African's error was itself influenced by his own material and non-theoretical preoccupation.⁷⁶

It is also important to sort the extent to which ideas may influence the thinking and attitudes of a much larger number of people than the few who have actually studied the sources. In the 1960s Herbert Marcuse became the most widely discussed thinker in the leftist movement in the United States, although few had read his works, and even fewer had understood them.⁷⁷

Notwithstanding the sympathy for the student cause among the Ethiopian staff, they tended to rail about the rude, spoiled, misbehaving students and refrained from openly discussing the real issues.⁷⁸ The particular grievances of the Ethiopian teachers tended to overshadow their concern for the deep-rooted conflict between students and the HSU administration and the government. Despite pressure from the staff the university did not institutionalise procedures for selecting people for administrative positions. Appointments were made by the president and were accompanied by substantial salary increases, which tended to generate contempt for many administrative officers on the part of the teaching staff. The incentives for upward mobility were so strong that some were forced to bend their principles. Increasingly criticism was raised against the authoritarianism and high-handedness of the administration.⁷⁹

The Ethiopian staff was in a weak position because their contracts with the university had to be renewed every second year. In January 1972 members of the Ethiopia University Teachers' Association (EUTA) staged a partial strike concerning their professional status. They did not utter any questions after the extensive arrests of student representatives in February, once they feared being accused of having inspired the student actions by their own strike.⁸⁰ When their passivity was challenged in a protest notice signed by "The Committee for the Preservation of the University,"⁸¹ EUTA called a meeting in which there were cautious attempts to stir up sympathetic protest. Questions were raised about the circumstances leading to the arrest of the USUAA president and the other students,⁸² about the charges brought against the students, and about the treatment they received in the several prison camps. Dr Aklilu was invited to answer questions at a meeting the next day, but it was suddenly announced he had gone abroad. The meeting passed a resolution demanding the unconditional release of "imprisoned students,"⁸³ which led to the detention

and interrogation of EUTA officers as well as the interrogation of a number of Ethiopian staff members by the security police. Instead of reprimanding EUTA, the administration questioned its legality as a government-recognized organization. Behind these measures was still the government's fear that students and EUTA might join forces. In late April 1972 a Faculty Council meeting demanded that the HSU administration submit a detailed report on the 1972 crisis, including the circumstances of the arrests and detention of students.⁴⁴ The resolution specifically affirmed the council's recognition of EUTA and reaffirmed the principle of academic freedom with "all its implications." The resolution was ambiguous about whether the students were included among those who should be allowed "the freedom to speak, to publish, to organize and assemble without let or hindrance and without any fear of reprisal."⁴⁵

When the president called the police to disperse the students' meeting concerning the famine in April 1973, the teaching staff criticized the action as "far too hasty." The previous year's condemnation of police brutality was repeated: "the student response of the police was totally out of proportion to the alleged provocation on the part of the students."⁴⁶ The statement of a group of staff members now said that the threat of peaceful assembly and expression constituted a "breeding ground for violence," and they urged the administration to grant the students "without any further delay their fundamental right to peaceful assembly."⁴⁷ Yet, it is true to say that this engagement was overshadowed by the reaction to the appointment of three senior Ethiopian staff members to positions outside the university,⁴⁸ an act clearly aimed at covering the Ethiopian staff into passivity.⁴⁹

In the early 1970s as well as during the previous decade the HSU teaching staff was divided in its attitudes toward the students. Concerns, even among the most sympathetic teachers, for the destructive relationship between students and the authorities never seemed to obtain the higher priority. The staff never showed any sign of joining forces with the students to wrest freedom of expression and assembly from the government and thus it did not seriously attempt to save the university as a meaningful educational institution in Ethiopia. Emotional concern with the pressing needs of a suffering society was somehow regarded as below the dignity of a university. The institution should concern itself with "national intellectual inquiry" and the "search for arguments which appeal to enlightened reason."⁵⁰ In any case the possibility of room for such a joint venture, if it ever existed, was probably nil by the late 1960s owing to the increased antagonism between the government and students and to the ideological developments which had taken place within the student body.

Government Response

The Haile Selassie government was hard pressed during its last years by the

Eritrean Liberation Movement, by student opposition, and by the expectations at home and abroad of meaningful land reform. It achieved nothing which could inspire confidence in the imperial system. Because there were no laws to protect the tenants, the Swedish agricultural aid project in Arsiat, intended to improve the overall economic and social conditions of the rural population in the Chilalo area, caused a high percentage of tenant evictions.⁹¹ There were visible and discouraging social side effects of commercial capitalist agriculture in several places under the existing ownership pattern.⁹² Yet, for all the efforts of experts in the Ministry of Land Reform and threats of discontinuation of aid, the necessary laws were never passed by the parliament. The emperor's role in this most crucial political question of the last year of his reign was ambiguous.⁹³ There were no political improvements which might have persuaded the students to modify their revolutionary stand.

Except for increased suppression, there was no change in the government's response to the crisis in education. There was consistent refusal to admit that students might have valid reasons, even good intentions, for their behavior. Those who engaged in agitation were referred to as the few, ungrateful, misled, lazy, and evil. Students were portrayed as unreliable and ignorant, as having adopted ridiculous, childish views unworthy of attention. There were hardly any factual reports in the newspapers and radio, only a profusion of moralizing.⁹⁴

Ingrained attitudes dictated that it was not worth communicating with children and interiors. In Nakempte in 1971, student demonstrators who asked to see the governor of Wollega were chased away by police.⁹⁵ In Yingalem in 1972 students marched to the governor of Sodmo to present demands which, as in Nakempte, were related to the land question. The governor refused to talk to them. Students went on strike until he agreed to see them, and the school was closed.⁹⁶ The College of Agriculture students were denied the opportunity to see any official after they had walked 25 kilometers to Hanur for this purpose.

It was obvious that the USUAA and the government could not coexist, and that the latter was determined to use the most repressive measures to deter political agitation. Whenever a student rally, demonstration, or assembly was planned, massive security forces would arrive in advance to seal off the particular campus or would appear within minutes to prevent people from listening to the student speeches or singing. In 1971 thousands of students, mostly from the secondary schools, were chased through the streets and taken away on police trucks to Smeda, Deber Berha, and Ficche to what police headquarters described as probation centers, where the young would be given moral instruction and advice to help the guilty change their minds.⁹⁷ A main motive behind the arrests was to clear the streets while the OAU summit meeting took place in Addis Ababa in June. It was well known that students were eager to compromise the regime in the eyes of the OAU delegates. In detention the students

were packed into rooms where they had to sleep on rough floors, the first days with minimum food and maximum doses of ditch-digging and punishment drills. But many of the young the experience was frightening before conditions improved, partly due to famous parental pressure.¹⁰⁴ Detention usually lasted five to six weeks.

The events in 1972 of all university students who had been elected to leadership were to forestall any action to obtain the release of the USUAA president.¹⁰⁵ Subsequent events proved that student solidarity was strong enough to provoke boycotts in Addis Ababa as well as Admara and Gondar.¹⁰⁶ But it was also obvious that the government measures seriously divided and demoralized the student body. When approximately half continued their exams, there were bitter fights that broke up many friendships.¹⁰⁷ The other half boycotted and eventually withdrew; about 600 of these were arrested.¹⁰⁸

For some detainees interrogation in Addis Ababa included standing barefoot on an iceblock with another iceblock on the head, others were shut up in small rooms where they had to stand during the night.¹⁰⁹ Sometimes students' hands were tied under their thighs then their feet were tied together and the body was swung around a rod, head down, while the soles of the feet were beaten. The favorite punishment was the well-known physical drill accompanied by beating until many fainted. An elderly exiled would talk to students in the evenings about the effects of the emperor and the government. He would say "As long as we live the country is ours, even if Haile Selassie dies, it is ours. After we die, you can do with it what you like, sell it, destroy it, turn it upside down." Students were sent to remote places—like Jereha, a hilly and arid area west of Woliso, to a remote area in Gogut and to Chankura, east of Jimma. Students were not told where they were being taken. Those who ended up in Chankura had to travel in overcrowded trucks for about 20 hours without rest or food. When the trucks passed on through Jimma they were informed of what ought to be done for them. In Chankura students from Addis Ababa met others from Jimma, including founders.¹¹⁰

One consequence of the mass arrests was that more and more people—parents, relatives, friends—were brought in touch with the student cause. The events of 1971 and 1972 confirmed that government repression was a discipline aid to activists who wanted to heighten political consciousness. Conditions surrounding detention also proved instructive to the activists, since there were better opportunities for surveillance in prisons than in the university. During the evenings, the freedom to move turned incarceration into political seminars and provided, as one student leader commented, "a unique opportunity for political indoctrination," especially where university and secondary school students were together.¹¹¹

The willingness to sacrifice, which was an important aspect of the student movement, usually had been encouraged by trust in the paternalism of Haile

Sellasse, who had on many occasions redressed grievances. He had yielded to demands for the release of student prisoners, opened schools when they had been closed, and offered extra programs of instruction so that students could make up for courses lost during their periods of detention. After the 1971 crisis, such programs were run for secondary as well as university students.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, many activists thought the government was not "tough enough."¹⁰⁵ The severe and harsh conditions of the 1972 detention, experienced by 600-700 students, suggested that paternalism was running out.¹⁰⁶

Academic 1972-1973, characterized by the government's persecution and suppression of religious, welfare, and social associations of the self and member type,¹⁰⁷ began calmly enough in the university. When student concern with the famine seemed to threaten this calm, however, the university president immediately called in security forces.¹⁰⁸ The government had neglected to win the confidence and cooperation of the school population for development projects despite advice from individuals in the Ministry of Education to do so.¹⁰⁹ The unresponsive character of the regime was amply demonstrated during the great famine in 1973, as it also had been by the cholera epidemic in late 1970. During the epidemic students set up 24 units to go out to the peasants to teach preventive health measures. Such a campaign had been recommended by the Ministry of Public Health, and finance and transportation had been solved, yet at the last minute the campaign was stopped, merely because the government suspected students would use it to their own political advantage.¹¹⁰ In 1973, student attempts to raise funds for famine victims were met with police brutality. Because the government viewed the famine as an embarrassment, it not only ignored the reports on the impending disaster and foolishly tried to conceal the famine's existence, but also embarked at the same time on the most pompous preparations for the ten-year jubilee celebrations of the OAU.¹¹¹

Closing Remarks

The rise of social and political consciousness among Ethiopian students was initially owing to the effect of little more than a decade of modern postsecondary education in Ethiopia, and to the unprecedented conditions education provided for young people to exchange ideas and organize. The university environment and its response to the challenges were crucial factors in the development of the student movement. The university both nourished and rejected the causes championed by the students.

The Ethiopian student movement may be seen as an extension of the independence struggle in colonial Africa even though the differences are striking. The nationalist efforts in other African states fought European colonialism, whereas the Ethiopian students wrestled with a traditional regime in a country famous for virtually escaping colonial rule. The African "wind of change" was

brought directly to the student world in Addis Ababa by other Africans who had been invited to study there and by the presence of the OAU headquarters.

The Ethiopian student movement was well on its way, therefore, when a strong political orientation emerged among students in most western countries. The radicalism was channelled to Ethiopia through the Ethiopian student organizations in Europe and the United States.

The prevailing climate of opinion in the Third World put the burden of progress on the shoulders of the educated few, so that Ethiopian students inevitably developed an image of themselves as important agents of change. They demanded freedom of expression and assembly not only to prepare themselves for a future role as responsible citizens, but also to establish themselves, while still university students, as a pressure group to raise the level of political consciousness in the Ethiopian population.

The government rejected the contributions of and exchange of ideas with those who thought it was their particular moral duty to speak out against injustice. Student demands for participation were met with increasing police brutality. Alienated, enraged, and embittered, they became revolutionaries. The Haile Selassie regime failed to integrate the newly educated generation into the polity and failed to give this crucial group a sense of having a role to play and a belief in the possibilities of fruitful changes within the existing political system. This fact partly explains Haile Selassie's fall and the 1974 revolution. The emperor, whose desire it had been to be remembered as the Father of Ethiopian Education, as well as the university administration failed to realize how large a part the critical sense plays in modern education, and how difficult it is to limit this critical faculty once developed, to the strictly academic sphere.

Notes

1. Markakis and Naga Ayale 1978:51.
2. HSU Faculty Council legislation. Student Affairs 1970-1971 (33 pages). 24, 25, 29, 30, 31.
3. LC 95 14.5.1973.
4. USLAA election campaign speeches. Sidat Kilo campus, 17.3.1971, and Asrat Kilo campus, 6.12.1971 (personal notes of ten speeches).
5. This is also the prevalent aspect of *Struggle*, May 1970.

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6. See chapter 5.3.
7. LC 98. 23.5.1971.
8. USUAA election campaign speeches.
9. LC 22. 6.1.1971.
10. USUAA election campaign speeches. This was also an issue in the general assembly, 23.5.1971, which voted for withdrawal from the university.
11. In the resolutions of the Sixth NUEUS Congress, March 1967, the subject of student welfare had an indigifiable place.
12. LC 95. 14.5.1971.
13. LC 43. 3.5.1971
14. LC 95. 14.5.1971; LC 98. 21.5.1971.
15. LC 82. 9.6.1971
16. LC 95. 14.5.1971; LC 80. 12.5.1971
17. These considerations are based on a four-hour discussion with S. Akiyama, former president of the student union of the University of Dar es Salaam and former executive member of the banned University Students African Revolutionary Front, Dar es Salaam, 12.10.1972 (Diary).
18. LC 37. 15.3.1971, I visited the USUAA office on 15.3.1971 and listened to the views of student leaders the day after the arrest of the USUAA president; USUAA election campaign speeches.
19. Diary 28.5.1971.
20. Memo from the Faculty Council to the University Community, 13.5.1971.
21. USUAA election campaign speeches in March and December 1971 were attended by packed audiences in the cafeteria of St. Kiz and Arusha Kilo campuses, as was a panel discussion in Ras Makonnen Hall, 2.4.1971, on "Youth in a Changing Society."
22. Material 1971 262
23. Diary: March 20 and 21, 1971.
24. LC 95. 14.5.1971.
25. Discussions in the USUAA general assembly, 23.4.1971, LC 98. 22.5.1971.
26. Addis Zewar held that university students did an AZ Cintor 13, 1961 (21.5.1971); Editorial: The disease that breaks out every year, AZ Cintor 15, 1961 (23.5.1971).
27. Personal observations and notes.
28. Memo to the Officers and Congressmen of USUAA from Aliku Habte President, 4.5.1971, To the university President from the Executive Committee of USUAA, 6.5.1971
29. Memo to the University Community from Aliku Habte, 13.5.1971. Memo from the Emergency Control Committee to the University, 13.5.1971
30. Memo from the Faculty Council to the University Community, 13.5.1971
31. HS.U from Special Committee of SAC to the University Community.
32. Diary 24.5.1971, that the emperor was in fact the owner of the company became clear during 1974, see Marukha and Negi Ayele 1974:73.
33. AZ Cintor 20. 1961 (20.5.1971) reported 54 buses, 11 private automobiles, and 2 police cars damaged, 30 civilians and 5 police were wounded and a number of windows broken. Colin Legum's article, "Selassie locks up the schoolchildren," Observer (London) 27.6.1971 contains most of the impressions and observations about the secondary school students' agitation which are presented here.
34. Kiplin and Baynes 1973:27.
35. Diary 25, 27, and 28.5.1971
36. Memo from the Emergency Control Committee to the University Community, 24.5.1971

37. AZ Gibet 17, 1963 (25.5.1971).
38. LC 49 21 10.1971; Bondesum (1974) has presented the plight of the Awash Valley people after the introduction of commercial agriculture.
39. LC 45 14.6.1971
40. Diary 13.6.1971
41. "The Causes of the Illegal Actions of Addis Ababa Students," AZ Sene 2, 1963 (9.6.1971)
42. Diary 4.2.1971
43. LC 95 14.5.1973
44. From USUAA notice, Diary 11 and 14.2.1972.
45. The content of the pamphlet was reflected in the USUAA notices of support which were put up in early February 1972
46. Diary 20.2.1972.
47. LC 98, 22.5.1973.
48. Notice to the Student Body from the Dean's Office 20.2.1972, Memo from the President to the University Community 22.2.1972.
49. The board of governor's decision, written in Amharic, was distributed from the Office of the President to the University Community 21.2.1972.
50. Memo to the University Community from Aklilu Habte, President 8.3.1972.
51. "Outline of Events in the Present Crisis," Ethiopian University Teachers Association, 13.3.1972.
52. *Policeman Irnigfaw, Yekatit 30, 1964* (9.3.1972).
53. Diary 4.2.1972, information from senior staff of Tafari Makonnen School. According to AZ Yekatit 10, 1964 (19.2.1972), 39 of 91 school days were wasted the first term.
54. EN 27 I.1973, only the land taxes are mentioned here, Diary 17.2.1973
55. Diary 9.4.1973
56. "Emperor Promotes, Appoints Officials," EN 7.4.1973.
57. Diary 9.4.1973; Resolutions of the International Staff of HSIU at a meeting in Ras Makonnen Hall, Monday 9.4.1973
58. Diary 14.3.1973.
59. Taabe 1976 57.58.
60. Diary 20.4.1973 and 23.4.1973 "Peace on Campus." Statement by a group of staff members HSIU 23.4.1973.
61. Randi R. Belovics, "Suh I Ethiopia or student revolt" *Dagblader (Obo)* 12.1.1974, Diary 23.3.1973.
62. Taabe 1976 50.54, Letter from an Ethiopian student 31.11.1973.
63. Memo to the University Community from Aklilu Habte, President, 10.12.1971.
64. Memo to the Student Body from Aklilu Habte, President 28.12.1970.
65. General Assembly of USUAA 13.5.1971 (personal notes).
66. LC 22, 6.1.1971.
67. HSIU Faculty Council Legislation Title V Student Affairs, 1970-1971. Preamble Point 5.
68. Ibid. 3).
69. Typed report in the file of REA, decided in a meeting of the university president and vice-presidents, October 21, 1970, not to be released.
70. REA 5.11.1970. Discussion on the Interdisciplinary Seminar 31.3.1971 after the presentation of Pawuwang's paper, "Teaching Social Sciences to Ethiopian Students" (Diary 31.3.1971). A staff member who wanted to write about the 1969 student disturbances was denied access to the files of the HSIU administration, LC 74, 17.4.1972

71. LC 61, 6.3.1972 under Ethiopia Intervenor
72. Communication from P D Balochi present at Comstar. 11.972 One planned road "One's own people who have no food for their children to build bridges."
73. J P O'Brien. "The Development of the New Left in America." *Awards* 109 (May 1971) 13-25 and P Brinley. "Marxism and the New Left in America." George Fischer ed. *The Arrest of American Socialism* (New York Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 285
74. LC 61, 6.3.1972
75. Marxol 1971 142
76. LC 61, 6.2.1972
77. Ibrahim, "Marxism," p. 137
78. Letter to Staff Faculty of Arts from Meheri Weldi Marlow. Subject: interpretation and translation 13.10.1971 (five pages). LC 94, 1.3.1973 In autumn 1974 the first elements of these took place. Trabia 1974 89
79. Staff meeting convened by the Ethiopian University Teachers' Association. 13.3.1972 (journal notes) Significantly the EUTA officer who opened the meeting said it had been convened "to relieve our discontent."
80. A British literary research worker and U.S. sociology lecturer attempted to stir up a movement of protest among their colleagues. They were discrete but their methods crude they tried to convene a staff meeting in the name of the Dept of Arts by forging his signature. They were arrested and expelled from Ethiopia. AZ Minis 2 and 6, 1964 (11 and 164 1972).
81. "Outline of Events in the Present Crisis," Ethiopian University Teachers' Association, 13.3.1972.
82. Staff meeting convened by EUTA. 14.3.1972 (journal notes). 64 teachers voted for this motion, one against, 15 abstained.
83. Resolutions of the HSLT Faculty Council of April 29, 1974
84. Ibid
85. "Power On Campus" statement by a group of staff members, HNU, 23.4.1973. According to the president, he called the police because the campus guards were unarmed with clubs and thus were not able to disperse the illegal meeting. ("Report to HNU Staff" 23.4.1973). I was present at the meeting, and no stones were thrown.
86. "Power on Campus."
87. Challenging the aim of the appointments that to remove the outgoing Meheri Weldi Marlow from the university. He talked to some students about the former, and his speech at the University Student Association's conference on rural Ethiopia, February 21-21 1971 was circulated in the capital as an illegal pamphlet the following week.
88. Report to HNU staff (from the ed. Soc. committee of 9.4.1972). 21.4.1972
89. HSLT Faculty Council legislation. Student Affairs 1970-1971 2
90. Meheri Weldi, "Militarized Farming and the Effects on Peasant Agriculture," 1970
91. Portrayal 970 06 07. Sibhi 1974 164-67
92. "Empress Urges Central Study of Land Reforms Bill." ZIT 11.6.1973 (ibid) 1974 166, Mekakilo and Negus Assefa 1970 70
93. Editorist, "Swedish Discription." SW 22.1.1971 editorial of AZ Gobet 19.1963 Gobet 20.1963 and Yekatit 1.1964 (1.3.1971 20.3.1971 and 1.2.1971). The Ethiopian Herald did not report on students in 1971 and 1972. *Policeman* (Amharic) Yekatit 10.1964 (9.3.1972).
94. Diary 17.6..971.
95. Diary 30.6..972.
96. Diary 9.6.1971 estimate of the number of students arrested during Keicho and Hayes 1973 26 gives 1,500-1,000. Legesse 1973 gives 2,000-4,000. "Explanation given from Police Headquarters." AZ 30.6.1963 15.7.971.

97. Diary 10.6.1971 and 16.6.1971
98. Diary 21.2.1972.
99. Diary 2.4.1972, 28.3 1972.
100. LC 79, 9.5.1972; LC 82, 9.6.1972.
101. Information from President Aklilu in Faculty Council meeting 29.4.1972; at this time about 60 still remained in prison.
102. LC 80, 12.5.1972 and LC 82, 9.6.1972, information from four released students.
103. Ibid.
104. LC 98, 21.5.1973
105. "Crash Programs for University Students," EH 12.8.1971.
106. LC 98, 22.5 1972.
107. The number of students at the HSIU at the opening of academic 1971-1972 was 4,978; for the following year an increase of about 500 would have been normal, but instead in 1972-1973 there were only 3,941 (Taube 1976:27). The reduced number shows that readmission to the university had been severely restricted.
108. See chapter 2:2; Diary 20.10.1972
109. General Staff Meeting, Södertörn KBo Karapax, 21.4.1973 (Diary 23.4.1973).
110. LC 45, 14.6.1971.
111. LC 20, 19.12.1970.
112. Balvik, "Sult Ethiopia og studentrevolt," 1974.
113. Mockler, Tony. "Haile Selassie's Ethiopia" in the *Guardian*, 4.8.1972. I had contributed information to this article.

Appendix

LIST OF ETHIOPLAN STUDENT OFFICIALS, 1956-1971

Abbreviations:

P :	President
VP	Vice-president
SG	Secretary General
E	Editor
T	Treasurer
ASST	Assistant
PI	Press and Information Officer

1956/57	Asfaw Damte	E	UC Cells
1958/59	Hagos Gebre Yemis	P	UCAA Student Council
	Asfaw Damte	SG	UCAA Student Council
	Berhane Wakwaya	E	UCAA NL
	Negusse Ayale	E	UCAA NL
	Amde Michael Habte	E	N & V
1959/60	Fantaye Bilku	P	UCAA Student Council
	Omogi Gallo	SG	UCAA Student Council
1960/61	Tethome Habte Gabriel	P	UCU
	Shibru Seifu	SG	UCU
	Mulu Bezzabeh	P	NUEUS
	Tadesse Tamrat	VP	NUEUS
	Shibru Seifu	SG	NUEUS
	Tesfaye Bekele	Asst SG	NUEUS
	Dualu Girmu	T	NUEUS

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1961/62	Gobeyehu Ferissa	P	UCU
	Eyesus Work Zafu	VP	UCU
	Newaya Christos Gebreab	SG	UCU
-	Moges Tekle Mikael	E	N & V
1962/63	Wond Wossen Hailu	P	UCU
	Tesfere Wolde Semait	VP	UCU
	Tortfe Wolde Tsadik	SG	UCU
	Teshome Mulat	T	UCU
		and P	NUEUS
	Gebre Selassie Gebre Mariam	T	NUEUS
1963/64	Getachew Arsayn	P	UCU
	Paulos Miltz	VP	UCU
	Gebre Selassie Gebre Mariam	SG	UCU
	Berkane Meskel Redda	PI	UCU
	Terfe Wolde Tsadik	P	UCU
	Zeru Gebre Egziabher	VP	UCU
	Eshetu Chole	SG	UCU
	Yakob Haile Mariam	P	NUEUS
	Aberra Dissa	VP	NUEUS
	Berkane Meskel Redda	SG	NUEUS
	Aboba M. Wolde	T	NUEUS
	Kifle Abate	PI	NUEUS
1964/65	Baru Tumsa*	P	UCU
	Gebra Gebre Wold	P	UCU
	Kifle Abate	E	N & V
1965/66	Eshetu Chole	P	MCSU
	Bekele Alemu	VP	MCSU
	Teklu Mines	PI	MCSU
	Hussein Muhammed Taki	E	N & V
	Petros Yohannes	Co - E	N & V
	Assgede Hagos	Co - E	N & V
	Admasu Bezabeh	P	NUEUS
	Abdul Mejid Hussein	VP	NUEUS
1966/67	Plsyehu Bayeh	P	USUAA
	Hailu Ayale	SG	USUAA
	Mesfin Kassu		USUAA
	Teka Feyera	T	USUAA
	Aberra Yemane Ab	P	USUAA
	Temesgen Haile	E	Struggle

*When Baru Tumsa went on Elias in February, Gebra became president

1967/68	Hailu Mengesha Mesfin Habtu Tegegaye Gebre Medhin	P USUAA SG USUAA E <i>Struggle</i>
1968/69	Makonnen Bishaw Esletu Araruu Yohannes Berhane Tefseye Kidane Worku Gobeyehu	P USUAA SG USUAA E <i>Struggle</i> Co-E <i>Struggle</i> Co-E <i>Struggle</i>
1969 Nov	Tibahun Gizaw Muhammad Mahfu	P USUAA SG USUAA
1971 March	Tanku Debre Tslon Getachew Maru	P USUAA SG USUAA
1971 Dec.	Gumachew Lemmo Amare Tegbaru	P USUAA SG USUAA

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AA = Addis Ababa

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II. Ethiopian Government Publications

A. Official Publications

Negarit Gazeta. Addis Ababa.

Revised Constitution of Ethiopia as promulgated by His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I on the occasion of the Twenty Fifth Anniversary of his Coronation. Number 1 of 1955 (November 4).

Charter of the University College of Addis Ababa. General Notice no. 185 of 1954 (July 28)

Charter for Haile Sellassie I University. General Notice no. 284 of 1961 (February 28).

The Penal Code Decree. Decree no. 45 of 1961 (June 28).

Regulations Issued Pursuant to the Control of Associations Provisions of the Civil Code of 1960 Legal Notice no. 321 of 1966 (September 26).

Proclamation to Govern the Holding of Peaceful Public Demonstrations No 243 of 1967 (February 11).

Order to Provide for a Temporary Measure Ensuring the Safety and Welfare of the Public. No. 56 of 1969 (April 5).

Public Safety and Welfare Order No. 62 of 1970 (January 23).

State of Emergency in Certain Areas of the Tigray Gizaat of Eritrea Regulations. Order no. 66 of 1970 (December 16).

Population of Ethiopia with Estimates of Vital Rates, Population Growth, Literacy and Occupation. AA. Central Statistical Office, January 1971. 31ppmo

Statistical Abstract. AA Central Statistical Office, 1964, 1970, 1971

Third Five Year Development Plan (1961-1965 E.C., 1968-1973), Addis Ababa, 1968

B Ministry of Education, Addis Ababa (Internal Reports)

Statistical Report of the Ministry of Education, September 1959 School Census for Ethiopia. The Office of Educational Planning and Statistics Annual issues from 1960/61 to 1968/69.

Proposed Plan for the Development of Education in Ethiopia. Report based upon the recommendations of the ECA-UNESCO sponsored Conference of African States held in Addis Ababa, May 1961, and submitted by the Board of Education Study Committee, August 1961.

Wastage at Primary and Secondary Levels, Causes and Remedies. Department of Programme, Planning and Research, April 1969

Report on the Current Operation of the Education System in Ethiopia prepared for the Council of Ministers of the Imperial Ethiopian Government, November 1966. Chapter II of this report published in the *Ethiopian Journal of Education* 3, no. 1, June 1969

C. Newspapers

Addis Zemen (Amharic, [AZ]) and *Ethiopian Herald* (English, [EH]). These newspapers have been used extensively. The list below is selective.

1960-1961

- "Emperor Receives College Students, Forgives, Forgets." *EH* 2.1.61, *AZ* Tahesas 24, 1953.
- "His Imperial Majesty's Speech." *EH* 21.12.60.
- "Emperor Answers Foreign Journalists." *EH* 21.12.60.
- Editorial "Grave Consequences Averted" *EH* 29.12.60
- "There Was Not One Who Said It Was True" *AZ* Tahesas 22, 1953 (31.12.60).
- "The Guiding Words of HIM to the College Students." *AZ* Tahesas 24, 1953, (2.1.61).
- Editorial "Students Loyal to HIM." *EH* 3.1.1961.
- "His Imperial Majesty Visited the University College." *AZ* Megabit 18, 1953 (26.3.61).

1962

- "NUEUS Second Conference" *AZ* Glibet 1, 1954 (8.5.62).
- "The University College Day and the Tenth Anniversary." *AZ* Glibet 15, 1953 (23.5.62).
- "From the University College" *AZ* Sene 26, 1954 (3.7.62).
- "The Emperor's Speech to the Students who came to Him with a Petition." *AZ* Sene 28, 1954 (5.7.62).

1965

- Editorial: "Let Everyone Get His Share." *AZ Yekatit* 11, 1957 (18.2.65).
Editorial: "Land and Farmer." *AZ Yekatit* 13, 1957 (20.2.65).
"Emperor Advises Youth." *EH* 15.5.65
"Addis Ababa College Students Go to H.M." *AZ Ginbot* 7, 1957 (15.5.65).
"Interview with President Kassa Wolde Maren." *AZ Ginbot* 12, 1957 (20.5.65).
"Lij Kassa Comments on Recent Incidents Involving Students." *EH* 20.5.65.

1966

- "The University Students." *AZ Ginbot* 19, 1958 (27.5.66).
Editorial: "Demonstration of Ignorance." *EH* 29.5.66.

1967

- "From Police Headquarters." *AZ Miazia* 3, 1959 (11.4.67).
"Decision Students Who Want Education Should Register. The Emperor's Message." *AZ Miazia* 6, 1959 (14.4.67).
"University Comments on Demonstration." *EH* 14.4.67
"Education Minister Akale Work Habte Wold Condemns Rioting." *EH* 15.4.67.

1968

- "One Campus of the University closed." *AZ Megabit* 22, 1960 (31.3.68).
"Message from the Ministry of Interior." *AZ Megabit* 27, 1960 (5.4.68).
"Announcement from the University." *AZ Megabit* 27, 1960 (5.4.68).
"H.M.'s Speech on Radio and Television yesterday." *AZ Miazia* 1, 1960 (9.4.68),
EH 9.4.68.
"Addis Ababa Elders Asked for Schools to Reopen." *AZ Miazia* 6, 1960
(4.4.68).
"The Office of the Prime Minister Received Representatives, Gave the Necessary Decisions." *AZ Hader* 8, 1961 (7.11.68), *EH* 17.11.68.

1969

- "Explanation by the Awraja Governor concerning Debre Berhan Students." *AZ Yekatit* 6, 1961 (14.2.69).
Editorial: "Learning is to Examine." *AZ Yekatit* 8, 1961 (16.2.69).
"Advice and Reminder from the Ministry of Education." *AZ Yekatit* 24,
1961 (3.3.69).

- "Government Command: HSIU and AA Secondary Schools Closed." AZ Yekatit 25, 1961 (4.3.69).
- "HIM's Speech on Radio and Television." AZ Yekatit 30, 1961 (9.3.69).
- "Advice and Warning from the Ministry of Interior." AZ Megabit 3, 1961 (11.3.69).
- "Meeting of Elders and Parents concerning Student Affairs." AZ Megabit 5, 1961 (14.3.69).
- "HIM gave Audience to Representatives of Student Councils." AZ Megabit 17, 1961 (26.3.69).
- "University Student Leaders Ask for Excuse and Present a Petition" AZ Megabit 21, 1961 (30.3.69).
- "Notice from the Police." AZ Megabit 27, 1961 (3.4.69).
- "Notice from the Fire Brigade." AZ Miazia 16, 1961 (24.4.69).
- "Students Condemned to Five Years' Imprisonment." AZ Miazia 23, 1961 (15.69)
- Editorial: "That Is Going Too Far!" AZ Hidar 19, 1962 (28.11.69).
- Editorial: "Let Not the Wrongdoers Mislead." AZ Tahesas 1, 1962 (10.12.69).
- Editorial: "Academic Freedom." EH 13.12.69
- "From the Police Criminal Department." AZ Tahesas 21, 1962 (30.12.69).
- Editorial. AZ Tahesas 22, 1962 (31.12.69).

1970

- "Announcement from the Police concerning Tilahun's Death" AZ Tir 15, 1962 (23.1.70).
- "Emperor Approves HSIU Reopening." AZ Tir 16, 1962 (24.1.70). EH 24.1.70.

1971

- "Statement from the Ministry of Education." AZ Ginbot 13, 1963 (21.5.71).
- Editorial: "The Disease That Breaks Out Every Year" AZ Ginbot 15, 1963 (23.5.71).
- "Announcement from the Ministry of Education." AZ Ginbot 17, 1963 (25.5.71).
- "Announcement from the University." AZ Ginbot 17, 1963 (25.5.71).
- Editorial. "We Have No Time That Can be Wasted." AZ Ginbot 20, 1963 (28.5.71).
- "HIM Approached by Parent's Committee." AZ Ginbot 25, 1963 (2.6.71).
- "The Illegal Actions of the Addis Ababa Students; Their Cause and Effect." AZ Sene 2, 1963 (9.6.71).
- "From Police Headquarters." AZ Ginbot 18, Ginbot 19, Ginbot 20, Sene 1, Sene 2, Sene 8, 1963 (26.5, 27.5, 28.5, 8.6, 9.6, 15.6.71).

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- Editorial: "When Education Time is Wasted." *AZ Yekatit* 1, 1964 (8.1.72).
"Ministry of Education Statement" *AZ Yekatit* 10, 1964 (17.2.72).
"Decisions of the HSIU Faculty Council." *AZ Yekatit* 17, 1964 (24.3.72).
"Expulsion of Foreigners for Illegal Activities." *AZ Mizan* 3, 1964 (11.4.72).
"American, Briton Admit Involvement in Illegal Activities." *EH* 16.4.72.
"The Ever Recurring Illegal Acts of Students." *Policeman Immaw*, Yekatit 30, 1964 (9.3.72).
"Police Investigations Report On Hijack Attempt Revealed." *AZ Tahesas* 4, 1965 (.3.12.1972). *EH* 13.12.1972

1973

- "Newsweek's Report on Pentecostalists Unfounded." *EH* 13.1.1973.

Others

- Addis Reporter*, a weekly shortlived magazine, 1969
Voice of Ethiopia.

*III. Student Publications**

A. By Ethiopian Students

A. 1. Addis Ababa, University College, from 1961 Halle Selsassie I University

- UC Cells* (around 11 issues published 1956-1957).
UCAA Newsletter (around 61 issues published 1957-1959).
News & Views (around 154 issues published from October 1959 - March 1965, 10 issues published by the HSIU Main Campus Student Union, December 1965 - June 1966).
University College Journal, printed (three issues, June 1958, June 1959, July 1960).
Struggle, published by the University Students' Union of Addis Ababa (11 or 12 issues from March 23, 1967 - November 17, 1969, one underground issue May 1970).
Ethio-Engineering Newsletter, published by the Students of the College of Engineering, 1959-1963.

*All student papers were mimeographed.

- Acme Perspective*, published by the Students of the College of Engineering (around 17 issues, November 1963 - May 1965), and by the Students of the College of Science and Engineering (special issue, May 14, 1966).
- College of Building Technology Student Magazine*, published by the Students of the Building College (around 15 issues from February 1962- December 1967).
- The Balance and the Sword*, published by the Law Students' Association (8 issues from May 1966 - November 1969).
- Busi-Body*, published by the students of the College of Business Administration (around 33 issues from November 1963 June 1966).
- Business Outlook*, published by the Business Students' Association (around 4 issues, March 1967 - May 1968).
- Strike*, published by the Business Students' Association, Vol. 1, No 1 12.12.1969
- Social Perspective*, published by the Social Work Students' Association (a few undated issues).
- Theo-Echo*, published by students of the College of Theology (about 7 issues from March 1963 February 1968).
- Tehadis*, [Renewal] published by the College of Theology Students' Association (one issue, December 1969)
- Message*, published by the National Union of Ethiopian University Students (about five issues between June 1963 and March 1968).
- Lider*, published by the Habmanote Abew Students' Association (about five issues from October 1965 June 1968).
- Frontier, Journal of Progressive Opinion*, published by the Habmanote Abew Students' Association (one undated issue, probably 1969).
- Journal of the Political Science Association*, published by the students of the Political Science Association (3 issues from April 1966 April 1968).
- Political Science Review*, published by the Political Science Students' Association (one issue, 6.1.69).
- UCESA Educational Journal*, published by University College Education Students' Association (a few undated issues).
- Voice of Sorts*, published by the Sociology Students' Association (about 3 issues from 1967-1969).
- Educational Journal*, published by HSIU Education Students' Association (one issue 30.4.66).
- The Torch*, published by HSIU Education Students' Association (about 7 issues from 30.4.66 - 8.1.69).
- Pencil Point*, published by the Architecture Students' Association, 22.3 ■

A. 2. HSIU Alemaya

Campus Observer published by the Students of the College of Agriculture

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(regular issues once or twice a month, December 1960 - May 1963, then never single issues, December 1965 - May 1967).

A. 3. MSU Gender

Health Mirror, published by the Students of the Public Health College (2 issues in 1963).

Students' Mouthpiece (a few issues December 1963 - May 1965).

A. 4. Abroad

The Lion Cub Journal of the Ethiopian Students' Society in Great Britain (six issues July 1949 - Summer 1954).

On the Trail of Sheda, sponsored by the Ethiopian Students' Association in India (Vol. 1, unnumbered, 1955, probably few later issues).

Jericho, published by the Ethiopian Students' Association in the Middle East (six issues 1956-1961).

Challenge, Journal of the Ethiopian Students' Association in North America (from 1960 issued regularly about twice a year from New York).

Tewodros Journal of the Ethiopian Students' Association in the United Kingdom (Vol. 1 no. 1 July 1965 I have not seen any later issues).

Tafeq, [Make Yourself Ready to Fight] Amharic Journal for the World Wide Ethiopian Student Association. Published by the Ethiopian Students' Association in Europe at least from 1966. The journal was dedicated to discussion of revolutionary theory and to using the Amharic language for this discussion.

Tiglatchen, [Our Struggle] Amharic Journal for the World Wide Ethiopian Student Association. Published by the Ethiopian Students' Association in Europe at least from 1968, four-five issues per year. Both *Tafeq* and *Tiglatchen* were mimeographed in Stockholm, Sweden.

Repression in Ethiopia, a widely distributed pamphlet in 1970 by the Ethiopian Students' Union in North America. It was, for example, reprinted in *Mast Mafi*, the journal of the TANU Youth League, University of Dar es Salaam, No. 3, August 1971.

B. By Non-Ethiopian Student Periodicals in Kenya and Tanzania

Nairobi University

University Platform, Vol. 1 No. 1, November 5, 1965, issued once or twice a month

Dar es Salaam University

The University Echo, Vol. I, No. 1, December 8, 1965, about 13 issues until July 18, 1971.

Che Che, [The Spark] Joint Organ of the University Students African Revolutionary Front (USARF) and TANU Youth League Three issues 1970. USARF and *Che Che* were banned.

*Maji Maji**, published by the TANU Youth League, six issues, January 1971 - October 1972.

Other

East African Journal, a publication of the East African Institute of Social and Cultural Affairs, from 1963.

C. Ethiopian Student Poetry
Winning poems from the HSIU poetry competitions

1961

የን እኩ : ወር ካቸ ተቻት፡ ነው እኩ እኩ፡ የኩ ይቻ እኩ

- (1) (Bone under the cliff) by Yohannes Admasu, five pages.

እኩ መደብ፡ የኩ ተቻት፡ አገልግሎት፡ የኩ ይቻ እኩ

- (2) (The poor man speaks) by Temru Feyisa, five pages.

1962

በኩ ይቻ፡ የተ ሁኔታ ሚኒስቴር፡ ገዢ አገልግሎት፡ የኩ ይቻ

- (1) (The one for whom the plain was near, that is, the one who fell in battle) by Melaku Tegegnas, three pages.

ከ እኩ መደብ ይቻ፡ ተቻት

- (2) (Life) by Yilma Kebbede, four pages.

*Named after the Maji Maji War of 1905, the first multiracial front to attempt to overthrow the German colonial presence.

የኢትዮጵያውያንድ የተስተካክለ ነው እና ማረጋገጫ ገዢ

- (3) (Please, be asked) by Yohannes Admasu, 13 pages.

1964

በቀኑኝ እና ትኝ ወጪ : በቅኑው እና ትኝ እና ትኝ እና ትኝ

- (1) (From evening till daybreak) by Muhammed Idris, seven pages.

ደዱት : ወደፊጥና : ወደ ተሸማ እና ተሰራ : ወደ ተሸማ

- (2) (Dead, I, your accuser, have come) by Abebe Woreke, nine pages.

1966

ሙኬናን ተጠናናና .. ተነሳስ መርቃ

- (1) (Leave me my tongue) by Abebe Woreke, six pages.

እኔ ተያያዥ ወደ ወ. ይቅኑው : ተኋላ እና ተተማ ተተማ

- (2) (Who is the Ethiopian?) by Issai Gutema, three pages.

1967

በፈጥቶ : ወደ ተግባር : ተቻቻ ተገኘ ተገኘ ተገኘ

- (1) (Presentation of curse) by Haile Gebre Yohannes, ten pages.

1968

የኩሉ ንብረት የአዲስ ቁጥጥር :: ተነዋቸው መደረሰ

- (1) (A nightmare which has no title) by Geachew Seifu, eight pages.

በኩሉ ንብረት የአዲስ ቁጥጥር :: ተነዋቸው መደረሰ

- (2) (I want to forget) by Walleigne Nakonnon in the *Journal of the Political Science Association* 3, no. 1, April 1968: 77

D. Student Pamphlets

D. I. Student Pamphlets in English

1965

"Student Organizations HSTU A New Perspective." Undated, around April 1965, 2.5 pages.

1966

"The University Re-Examined" Undated, around October 1966, seven pages.

1967

"Joint Press Release by NUEJS and USUAA." Undated, April/May 1967, one page.

"Press Release by the National Union of Ethiopian University Students on the Proclamation on Peaceful Public Demonstrations. An Assessment" Undated, around April 13, 1967, five pages. This was printed in *Challenge 7*, No. 1, August 1967.

"A Look into the Past and the Present." Undated, five pages.

1968

"Press Release by the Executive Committee of the National Union of Ethiopian University Students: On the Occasion of the Fourth Year of the Illegal Smith Regime." Undated, March 11, 1968.

"From USUAA Executive Committee To: The Student Body Wilson and Smith Attempt Genocide!!" March 11, 1968.

"Who Ate of my Bread has Lifted his Head Against Me" Published by the Theological Students' Association Reply to *Smiggle's* Editorial of March 6, 1968, undated

"The Philosophy of Fashion Show in the Era of Nationalism." Undated, March 1968, 1.2 pages

"Letter Found in Huile's Pocket. Faulty Reasoning." Undated, April 1968, one page

"Cry My Beloved Ethiopia." Undated, Spring 1968, 1.2 pages.

"What Is to be Done?" Undated, Autumn 1968, two pages.

"The Great Manifesto of the Student Body." Undated, Autumn 1968, one page.

"Let us Continue!" Undated, Autumn 1968, one page.

"Our Stand" Undated Autumn 1968, one page

340 Bibliography

- "Answer Their Agony." Undated, 2.5 pages.
- "Nikat.* Towards Political Consciousness." Undated, seven pages (a lucid, well-written article analyzing the meanings of reformistic and revolutionary change).
- "U.S. Foreign Policy and Peace Corps." Undated, four pages.

1969

- "Compassion Students, Revolt!" Undated, two pages.
- "Germany or Kennedy!!" Undated, July 1969, one page (concerning the dedication of the J F Kennedy Library.)
- "To The Student Body, September 29th 1969." Two pages (from USUAA, NUEUS, and Ad Hoc Committee of EUS Participants).
- "Brothers and Sisters Welcome Home" Undated, Autumn 1969, two pages.
- "The Future of Our Struggle." Undated, six pages
- "The Final Indignity" Undated, November 1969, one page.
- "To the Student Body from the Congress of USUAA, November 25th, 1969." One page.
- "The Ethiopian Youth Mourns the Death of Takele Wolde Hawariat, The True Son of Ethiopia." Undated, November 1969, one page.
- "To The Student Body From The Executive Committee of USUAA. On the Illegal Meddling of the University Administration, November 25th, 1969." 15 pages.
- "To The Student body. From: The Editorial Board of Struggle. December 9th, 1969." One page.

1970

- "EUS Participants' Resolution." Undated, January 1970, 1.5 pages.
- "Voice of Ethiopian Students." Undated, January 1970, two pages.
- Struggle*, published by the "Underground Revolutionary Press." May 1970, 94 pages.

1971

- "A Brief History of the Ethiopian Student Movement." April 1971, 13 pages.

D. 2. *Student Pamphlets in Amharic*

1966

*Vigilance, alertness.

የ ሂሳብ : የንግድ አስተዳደር :

- (1) (Is poverty a crime?) undated.

1967-1968

- (1) ታሪክ ፖ. - one article from this magazine of the Ethiopian Students' Union in Europe:

የኢትዮጵያ : የኩረት የሚችሉ ጥርጓሜ :

ቅርቡ : ተግባራዊነት :

(Problems of tribalism in Ethiopia and our main duty), dated 1960 E.C.

አውጭዎች አዋጅ , ወንጀል :

- (2) (Crime in the name of the gospel).

- (3) ታገል (Struggle) undated, April 1968.

የጊዜ ቅዱስ ትኩስ እና ትኩስ :

- (4) (The burning fire), undated, April 1968.

የት የት : ዘመን :

- (5) (News from the struggle), undated, April 1968.

1969

የት የት : ይዕበ ማመድ : ይግሞ : የኩረት ሁኔታ :

- (1) (Who would tell them that I am created from a human being), undated; Distributed after the death of student Shiferaw Kebede in Debra Berhan, February 1969, four pages

የት የት የት : ወጥቶ : ይዕበ ማመድ : ይግሞ :

- (2) (The demands/aims of the peaceful demonstration), undated February 1969, 2.5 pages.

እ ዓንተ ተ : ፈ ት : እወን :

- (3) (*This is the truth*), undated, March 6, 1969, 12 pages.

እ ከዚ ጽሑፍ : እ ጽሑፍ :

- (4) (*A proclamation concerning the proclamation*), undated, March 1969; *Comments on the Emperor's speech*; four pages.

የ ወጪ መጽሑፍ . እና መጽሑፍ . ይዕስ ከ አገልግሎት :

- (5) (*The so common foreign hand*), Yekatit 29 1961 (March 1969), ten pages.

የ ወጪ መጽሑፍ :

- (6) (*Voice of blood*), undated.

እ ቀርቡ የ ተኞች :

- (7) (*Our stand*), undated

የ ወጪ አ ም : ይዕስ ተኞች :

- (8) (*The mother who became childless*), undated.

እ ቀርቡ የ ተኞች እና ተኞች . እና በ የ ተኞች እና ተኞች እና ተኞች . በ የ

- (9) (*Our fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers!*), undated, March 1969, four pages.

እ ጥሩ ከ ይዕስ :

- (10) (*A reply to the accusation*), undated, March 13, 1969 (two pages).

+ የ ፈ ደ ተ : ተ ስ ተ : + የ ፈ ደ ተ : + የ ፈ ደ ተ :

- (11) (*Dear combatting and determined students*), undated.

ዓይ ከ ካ ቤት :

- (12) (*Reminder*), undated, four pages.

ዶ እና ስት : ተና ::

- (13) (News message), undated, one page.

የኢ ቀኑ እና የዕለታዊ ሪፖርት

- (14) (Dear Ethiopians!), undated, two pages

ቃል በ የዕለታዊ ሪፖርት ከ አዲስ አበባ ቤት

ከ ጥሩ የትኩረት ነው::

- (15) (The great soldier, the great general said this to the young generation), undated, March 11, 1969.

ዕለታዊ ሪፖርት

- (16) (Voice of the patriots), undated, five pages.

የኢትዮጵያ የዕለታዊ ሪፖርት

- (17) (Dear youth of Ethiopia), undated March 10, 1969

የኢትዮጵያ የዕለታዊ ሪፖርት

- (18) (Have you registered to elect your representative to parliament?), issued before the election of 1969.

- (19) ከ ር ማ ከ ር (Liberator), undated, August/September 1969, the demands of the Ethiopian University Service Students.

- (20) Let us Support the Revolutionary Ethiopian National Movement and Down with the Feudal Government, undated, November 1969 (I have only the translation of this handout)

- (21) ከ ካ እና ስት ? (Do you know this?), undated, September 1969 (proverbs, songs, stories in the Wellega Oromo language).

እና ስት የ እና ስት እና ስት ::

- (22) (Dear hyena, eat me without creating reasons for doing so), undated, early December 1969

የኢትዮጵያ የደንብ አገልግሎት : + መ/ቤት ቀርቡ, ይቅት አገልግሎት

- (23) (From the University Students Union in Addis Ababa), undated, December 1969.

፳፻፶፷፻ : ከኢትዮጵያ ስምምነት : ማርመራ ፈቃድ እና የዕለታዊ

- (24) (To the Ethiopian armed forces), undated

የኢትዮጵያ የሰንበት የደንብ አገልግሎት : + መ/ቤት ቀርቡ,

የቅርቡ የሚከተሉ ደረጃ : ገዢ የደንብ አገልግሎት

- (25) (From USUAA information section). የተዘጋጀ ደረጃ

1970

የኢትዮጵያ ህኑ : + የደንብ አገልግሎት

- (1) (Voice of the Ethiopian students), undated, January 1970.

የኢትዮጵያ የደንብ አገልግሎት : + መ/ቤት ቀርቡ, የደንብ አገልግሎት

የኢትዮጵያ የሰንበት የደንብ አገልግሎት : + መ/ቤት ቀርቡ, የደንብ አገልግሎት

የደንብ : የደንብ አገልግሎት

- (2) (Message from the unions of the Ethiopian university students and the Addis Ababa students), undated, January/February 1970.

የኢትዮጵያ : የደንብ አገልግሎት : የደንብ አገልግሎት

- (3) (If one doesn't plough properly, one ends up in weeds), undated, January/February 1970.

በ አዲስ አበባ : የደንብ አገልግሎት : የደንብ አገልግሎት

- (4) (He who has goals will not be frightened), undated, January/February 1970.

- (5) Knives and bullets cannot prevent a strong-minded man from reaching his destination, undated, January 1970 (I have only the English translation of this pamphlet)

1971

የተናገሱ የቅርቡ : ኢትዮጵያ :

- (1) (The student movement.), December 29, 1971.

1972

ፖ.ስታ.ካርድ ከፌዴራል : የንግድ ቤት . ዓዲስ አበባ :

- (1) (The police has presented a new educational philosophy).

1973

- (1) የዕለ ደንብ : ቅርቡ : ወንጀስ ዝግጁ ደንብ :: Undated, March 1973
(What is the aim), reaction to the Alumni Association's Conference on
Rural Ethiopia, February 21-23, 1973.

IV Haile Selassie I University, Addis Ababa

A Information

Bulletin, Recent Activities and Events, published by the Office of Public Relations, March 1962 - December 1968

General Catalogue, HSIL 1965 1966-1967, 1968-1969, 1971-1972, 1972-1973

Information for Foreign Staff, HSIU 1966, 1971

University Reporter, published in the Department of English in January 1967,
weekly from April 1968

Recent Events and Activities, published by the Office of Public Relations from
December 1968

Student Handbook, 1967-1968 edition, prepared by the Office of the Dean of
Students.

The President's Report, 1969-1970 and 1970-1971.

The President's Report, 1971-1972.

B Office of the Registrar

HSI University Graduates, 1952-1966.

Enrollment Statistics, 1963-1969

Admission Report for the Academic Year 1971-1972.

C. Professional Publications

Ethiopia Observer, a journal published in Great Britain and Ethiopia, Independent of the University; edited from 1956 by Sylvia Pankhurst and from 1962 by Richard and Rita Pankhurst.

Journal of Ethiopian Studies, published by the Institute of Ethiopian Studies since 1962

Ethiopian Journal of Education, published by the Faculty of Education, HSIU, first published June 1967.

Dialogue, a publication of the Ethiopian University Teachers' Association, first published in October 1967

D. Reports

Conference on Secondary Education in Ethiopia, May 1-3, 1962 Final Report. HSIU Department of Education.

Advisory Committee on Higher Education to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I Chancellor of the University. 1966

The Award-Strauss Report as approved by the Faculty Council's Student Affairs Committee, March 26, 1968 (a factual report of the events of the week of April 10-17, 1967).

Presidential Commission on Planning Reorganization and Consolidation of Academic Programs of the University. Final Report. HSIU, June 1968

HSIU Student Aid Committee *Final Report* Addis Ababa, November 26, 1968.

Haile Selassie I University, Report and Recommendations of the Inter-Faculty Committee on Faculty-Administration Student Relations Sub-committee on Student Unrest. Addis Ababa, 1968

Report on Student Support. Presented to Dr. Akilu Habte, President, HSIU, by the Office of the Dean of Students, Dr. Teshome G. Wagaw, Dean. May 9, 1969.

A Brief Survey Report on Conditions under which Students Carry Out Their Work. Dean of Students Office, June 5 1969.

Planning Paper, prepared for the Board of Governors of the Haile Selassie I University, June 12, 1969, by John Summerskill, Planning Officer

E. Ethiopian University Service

Ethiopian University Service. Undated information document.

A Brief Statistical Data on EUS from 1967-1972. Undated, prepared by the EUS Office.

EUS Orientation General Information, by Kebabew Daka. Undated

A Survey of the Attitude of EUS Participants toward the Programme and

- Related Problems, by Kebew Daka, February 1973.
- Study-Service Concept and Its Effects on the University, by Dan W. Anderson, Professor, Faculty of Education, May 1973.
- EUS Field Supervision in Five Northern Provinces, by P. Koehn May 7, 1971.

F Memoranda/Letters from the HSIU President

- To all University Students, March 11, 1965
- To the University Community October 10, 1968, November 18, 1968
- To Students, Staff and University Community, March 14, 1969.
- To Staff and Students March 18, 1969.
- To the Student Body, March 28, 1969
- Memo of March 29, 1969
- To the University Community April 3, 1969
- To University Staff April 4, 1969.
- To all Deans and Members of the Faculty Council, Department Heads of Arts, Science and Engineering, April 18, 1969
- To the University Community April 19, 1969
- To Faculty of HSIU, April 21, 1969
- To the University Community, April 23, 1969
- To the University Community, April 24, 1969
- To all Students and Staff, May 6, 1969.
- To the University Community, September 29, 1969.
- To the University Community December 2, 1969
- To the University Community Review of the Current Student Situation at HSIU, December 8, 1969
- To the University Community December 29, 1969
- To the University Community, January 30, 1970
- To the University Community, March 9, 1970.
- To the Student Body, December 28, 1970.
- To the University Community, May 13, 1971.
- To the University Community December 30, 1971
- Letter in Amharic to the University Community accompanying Amharic letter of the Board of Governors which dissolved USUAA, February 21, 1972.
- To the University Community on the Board's Decision to Dissolve USUAA, February 22, 1972
- To the University Community on the Decisions of the Faculty Council, February 24, 1972
- To the University Community, March 1, 1972
- To the University Community, March 8, 1972
- To the University Community, March 13, 1972
- To the Student Body, December 11, 1972.
- To the University Community, December 28, 1972

G. Faculty Council

G. 1. Legislation

University Statute on Student-University Relationships Undated. Mentioned in SAC minutes November 5, 1964.

Statute on Academic Rank, Tenure, Salaries and Academic Responsibility and Freedom Enacted by the Faculty Council on June 5, 1964.

Legislation of the Faculty Council of Hale College I University Title V: Student Affairs, enacted November 13 1964.

Consolidated Legislation of the Faculty Council, October 1967 Revised by July 1, 1968, except for Title V.

Summary of Proposed Legislation on Student Affairs with Explanations. SAC, September 19, 1968.

Draft Proposal for New Legislation on Student Affairs. SAC, September 19, 1968.

Memorandum of Transmittal via Academic Vice-President Bowles and the Executive Committee of the Faculty Council. Subject: Recommendations of the ad-hoc Committee on Student Affairs, March 16, 1970.

Faculty Council Legislation Title V Student Affairs, 1970-1971.

G. 2. Letters/Statements

The Executive Committee of the Faculty Council to the University Community: Withdrawal of Recognition of NUEUS, USUAA and Struggle, April 11, 1968.

The Executive Committee of the Faculty Council to the University Community, April 17, 1968

The Faculty Council to the University Community, November 20, 1968.

Minutes of the Joint Executive Committee and Deans Council, April 3, 1969.

Minutes of the Joint Executive/Deans Meeting, April 17, 1969.

Memorandum from Executive Committee/the Deans Council to the Faculty Council on Proposed Resolution on Resumption of Suspended Teaching Operations, April 17 1969.

Minutes of Faculty Council Meeting, April 18, 1969

Minutes of Deans and Executive Committee with Alumni Association, April 30, 1969

Minutes of the Executive and Deans Meeting, May 1, 1969

Resolution of the Faculty Council of the HSI University, January 3, 1970.

Memorandum to the University Community, May 15, 1971

Memorandum to the University Community, May 19, 1971.

G. 3. Minutes of Student Affairs Committee

- 1964: October 28, November 5.
 1965: November 26, December 3.
 1966: March 25, April 12, September 25, October 26, October 29, November 29, December 6, December 13.
 1967: January 17, February 21, February 28, March 9, March 14, March 23, March 27, April 6, April 11, April 19, May 11, May 18, May 25.
 1968: July 21.

G. 4. SAC Letters/Statements

- J.C.N. Paul, Chairman SAC, to SAC, November 8, 1965
 Draft for Development Committee by J.C.N. Paul, November 9, 1965.
 SAC to University Students interested in organizing Student Union, November 16, 1965
 SAC to Members of the Election Committee of a group of students desiring to form a Union of Main Campus students, November 25, 1965.
 SAC to Presidents/Officers of Main Campus Student Union and the College of Science and Engineering Union, December 13, 1965.
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